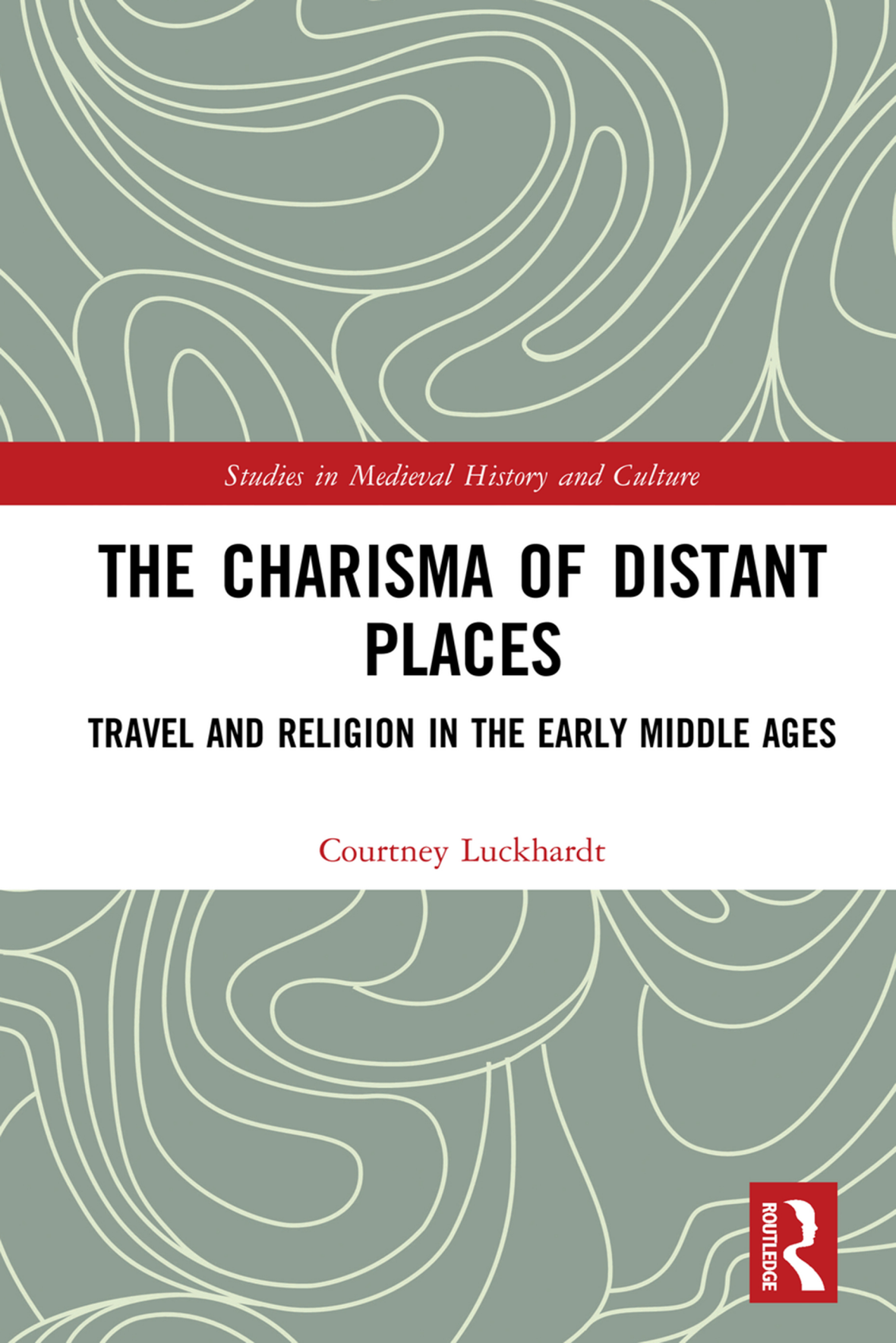




*Studies in Medieval History and Culture*

# **THE CHARISMA OF DISTANT PLACES**

**TRAVEL AND RELIGION IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES**

Courtney Luckhardt



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# The Charisma of Distant Places

This cultural history of early medieval travel and religion reveals how movement affected society, demonstrating the connectedness of people and regions between 500 and 850 CE. In *The Charisma of Distant Places*, Courtney Luckhardt enriches our understanding of migration through her examination of religious movement. Vertical links to God and horizontal links to distant regions identified religious travelers – both men and women – as holy, connected to the human and the divine across physical and spiritual distances. Using textual sources, material culture, and place studies, this project is among the first to contextualize the geographic and temporal movement of early medieval people to reveal the diversity of religious travel, from the voluntary journeys of pilgrims to the forced travel of Christian slaves. Luckhardt offers new ways of understanding ideas about power, holiness, identity, and mobility during the transformation of the Roman world in the global Middle Ages. By focusing on the religious dimensions of early medieval people and the regions they visited, this book addresses probing questions, including how and why medieval people communicated and connected with one another across boundaries, both geographical and imaginative.

**Courtney Luckhardt** is Assistant Professor at the University of Southern Mississippi, USA.

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# The Charisma of Distant Places

Travel and Religion in the  
Early Middle Ages

Courtney Luckhardt



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**For Jenna, my sister and best friend.**



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# Abbreviations

|              |                                                                    |
|--------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| AASS         | Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur, 69 vols.               |
| AB           | Analecta Bollandiana                                               |
| Adomnán,     | De Locis Sanctis                                                   |
| DLS          |                                                                    |
| Alcuin,      | Versus de Patribus Regibus et Sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae       |
| York Poem    |                                                                    |
| BHL          | Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina                                   |
| CCSL         | Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina                                |
| CCCM         | Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis                       |
| Cogitosus,   | Vitae Sanctae Brigittae                                            |
| VB           |                                                                    |
| Gregory,     | Gregory of Tours, Decem Libri Historiarum                          |
| DLH          |                                                                    |
| Gregory,     | Gregory of Tours, Gloria Confessorum                               |
| Gloria Conf. |                                                                    |
| Gregory,     | Gregory of Tours, Gloria Martyrum                                  |
| Gloria Mart. |                                                                    |
| LHF          | Liber Historiae Francorum                                          |
| MGH          | Monumenta Germaniae Historica                                      |
| AA           | Auctores Antiquissimi                                              |
| Ep           | Epistolae                                                          |
| Formulae     | Formulae Merovingici et Karolini Aevi                              |
| SRM          | Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum                                    |
| SS           | Scriptores                                                         |
| SRG          | Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum<br>separatim editi |
| SSRL         | Scriptores rerum Langobardorum et Italicarum                       |
| PL           | Patrologia Latina                                                  |
| PG           | Patrologia Graeca                                                  |



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# Introduction

Traveling in the early Middle Ages was undertaken with much effort and not a little danger. People moved from place to place by walking or riding in carts pulled by donkeys along the old Roman roads, or on ships filled with rowdy sailors, subject to the vagaries of weather and chance. From the seventh century, there survives a *celeuma* – a rowing-song – that allows us to hear the rhythm of a traveler’s life aboard ship.

*En silvis caesa fluctu meat acta carina  
Bicornis Hreni et pelagus perlabitur uncta.  
Heia, viri! nostrum reboans echo sonet: heia!*

Look there, cut into the forests, this manmade vessel travels along the stream

of the two-branched Rhine, and glides as if oiled upon the waters.

Hey ya, men! Let the reverberating echo sound out our, Hey ya!<sup>1</sup>

The song continues in this vein, describing the various troubles men on the sea might face, and the author quickly turned to Christian imagery to describe the weariness and frenzy of travel, urging the rowers to turn to Christ to protect them from harmful worries – *male temptando* – from within and without to create a sacred space within themselves that would protect them from the physical and spiritual dangers of the water. The beauty of this rowing-song illustrates the immediacy and the alterity of medieval travel. Like soldiers singing cadence while marching, the sailors’ wild “heia!” seems familiar, and yet bears no relation to the humming engines or screeching machines of modern travel. The practicalities of medieval travel, like the stinging slap of oars on the water in the song of a tired rower, are integral to understanding the reality of travel and movement. Likewise, the ways that medieval travelers approached this movement as a moment of real danger to both body and soul is also key to understanding their mindset.

Travel and its relationship to religion contribute to our understanding of the transformation of the Roman world by marking how the movement of peoples and goods affected religion and society in the early Middle Ages, as well as how those developments related to economic and political change. In

## 2 *Introduction*

addition, examining mobility and migration across distance demonstrates the connectedness of people and regions, a key feature in the study of global history. More broadly, taking religion seriously in the study of travel departs from simplistic or empiricist approaches to human movement by incorporating sources that reveal the exchange of early medieval beliefs and ideas. The physical landscape and material culture provide geographical context for textual accounts of medieval religious journeys, revealing travelers in both objective and subjective terms, a real and imagined landscape of motion and migration.

### **The location of the holy**

For medieval Christians, the idea of holiness involved both history and geography. Theologically, belief in Christ meant that he was incarnate in a particular time and space, although the veneration of the holy places of the Bible and the tombs of the early martyrs did not begin until the fourth century.<sup>2</sup> There was an essential tension between early patristic and medieval ideas about religious movement and sacred space. Church Father Eusebius of Caesarea (263–339 CE) embodied this tension, as, early in his career, he argued that place had been important only to Jews and pagans and that the spirituality of Christians had no room for holy places.<sup>3</sup> After the discovery of the site of Jesus' death and the building of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher by Emperor Constantine in 336, Eusebius' writings reflected the growing ideology that Christian holy places held special meaning.<sup>4</sup> This divide was even starker in the next generation of church leaders; while Cyril of Jerusalem (313–386) praised his city as a place where “we may see and touch” the sacred,<sup>5</sup> his contemporary Gregory of Nyssa (335–395) declared that “the changing of one's place does not bring about any greater nearness to god.”<sup>6</sup> The debate over the location of the holy also involved how a person actually journeyed to a holy place. Later, Augustine of Hippo (354–430) contemplated the pitfalls of too much enjoyment of travel itself, using it as a metaphor for the human life as a journey towards heaven. Augustine warned that “fascinated by the delights of the journey and the actual traveling, we would be perversely enjoying things that we should be using,” concluding, “if we wish to return to the homeland where we can be happy, we must use this world, not enjoy it.”<sup>7</sup> Despite the theological debate, pilgrims were common in Late Antiquity, such as Egeria's journey from Iberia to Jerusalem in the late fourth century.<sup>8</sup> Religious travel was a metaphor for a Christian person's journey from baptism to death, to the final destination of the righteous, heaven. For early medieval people, the true homeland was death and life everlasting, the heavenly Jerusalem, both the ultimate journey and destination. This religious ideology about the location of the holy was understood by Christians who lived far from the Mediterranean heartland in northern Europe, who nevertheless wished to participate in this theology of sacred space. By the fifth century, the new doctrine on sacred places had won out. Even so, the western



Christian discussion about the nature of sacred places and the location of the holy never completely disappeared; Carolingian theologians revived the debate in the ninth century.<sup>9</sup> An examination of both early medieval concern and praise for religious travel and the blessings of visiting holy places sits at the intersection of discussions of sacred history and spatial history.

The doctrinal foundations about the nature and utility of travel and holiness were what separated ideas about religious travel from those about other kinds of movement in the early Middle Ages, from the economically-motivated travel of merchants to the politically-motivated travel of diplomats. This theology was embedded in the minds of clerics and laymen alike, so rigid categories for lay and clerical, or secular and religious, travelers often mislead more than they clarify. Religious travelers were not simply defined by their motivations for travel, which were disparate and not as easily categorized as modern scholars might wish. Pilgrims and merchants ostensibly had two different purposes for traveling, one religious, the other economic. However, these secular travelers, such as traders or merchants, might have also prayed at the tomb of a saint or behaved as a pilgrim. Likewise, a pilgrim or missionary engaged in economic transactions, such as paying for passage on a ship. While the religious behavior of a slave, messenger, or trader might seem incidental, the power afforded to any individual through their association with a distant holy place was central to medieval people's understanding of the power of God. Expanding the definition of religious travelers to people with a variety of motivations for travel is necessary because of the way that movement from place to place formed a fundamental part of people's conceptions about power and holiness in the period. The religious and economic modes were inseparable from the political and social ideas about travel in a cultural context that gave travelers ideological power in early medieval European societies. While the scholarly conversation about the social, political, and economic transformations of the Roman world has largely been divorced from discussions of religious change in the period, the diversity of travelers moving across Europe and the Mediterranean is an important way to study both the religious and non-religious aspects of the transformation of the Roman world.<sup>10</sup>

The ideological power formed through religious connections demonstrates how places, goods, and people with religious and cultural value were imbued with the "charisma of distant places."<sup>11</sup> The idea of charismatic authority applies not only to political leaders or other elite people, but also to places with extraordinary power. The charismatic authority of holy places rests on the notion that sacred space has a power that transcends everyday economic, political, or social routines. The charisma of distant places demonstrates that the power of these places, goods, and people was dependent on the belief that they came from heaven, a mobility that established a vertical link between God and the local site. They also created a horizontal link between locations now connected by relics, texts, and those who possessed the skills to join the human with the divine through teaching, music, or art. Through perceived

#### 4 Introduction

connections to the divine, symbolic goods and people conveyed the power of God. Likewise, the horizontal relationships among distant regions had their own symbolic associations, in which space and distance accorded the traveler sociological, political, and ideological significance, status, and power. Geographically distant places, peoples, and experiences were often perceived within supernatural or cosmological contexts; a saint's association with travel could then rightfully fall within the domain of a religious mystery.<sup>12</sup>

For the early medieval person, there might be no philosophical difference between vertical distance (to heaven) and horizontal distance (to another region). For instance, sacred places identified in the Bible in the Holy Land derived their power from both their real geographical distance from Europe, but also their symbolic power as places that bore witness to the life of Christ. Jerusalem especially was both location and idea, terrestrial and heavenly, for pilgrims and travelers. The sacred places of the Bible were revered and their power was portable through material objects. From the holiest of relics, the fragments of the true cross, to more common tokens, such as *eulogia*, stamped clay mementos of the Holy Land, items of holiness and power came to the Christian West from the Levant.

#### Sacred space and holy places

Medieval ideas about sacred space were organized by hierarchies and oppositions. In the physical world, these oppositions might include enclosed and open spaces, such as a church with a saint's relics buried below the altar versus a roadside shrine to a saint at the site of his or her miracles. In a cosmological context, there was a clear hierarchy between celestial and terrestrial space. Building upon this, any physical or mental place that combined these elements was a heterotopia, or a place of otherness.<sup>13</sup> For medieval people, sacred space made the physical world holy by making divine accessible on earth. In this dichotomy between physical, material places and imagined or idealized places, they were both real and imagined, rather than either/or.<sup>14</sup> The convergence of physical with imagined space allows us to see how early medieval people thought about the shape of the world with both natural and supernatural elements.<sup>15</sup> For instance, Church Father Isidore of Seville (560–636) described the physical world as “raised up at the northern region, and [it] declines in the south. Its head and its face, as it were, is the eastern region, and its furthest part is in the northern region.”<sup>16</sup> This is a geographical description of the real world, explaining in scientific language appropriate to the time, the differences in latitude between northern Europe and northern Africa and the prograde rotation of the earth on its axis. A few chapters later, Isidore just as matter-of-factly described the seven regions of heaven and their influences upon the earth, saying that from these celestial regions “the disparate characters of humans and animals of diverse species are produced.”<sup>17</sup> For medieval people, the relationship between being and space was a theological one as well as a practical one. It influenced their understanding of God's

creation, which included both the physical world and the numinous human soul. This both/and conception of space has more in common with the way that modern physicists speak about subatomic particles and quantum mechanics, rather than a materialist or Newtonian world view.<sup>18</sup> While quantum theory relies on mathematical probabilities to explain an invisible world, medieval people explained the invisible through *miracula*, miracles attributed to the power of God, and *mirabilia*, wonders which are natural, even if that nature is beyond human understanding.<sup>19</sup> Sacred places could be both *miracula* and *mirabilia*, as they provided a conduit to the divine through their association with people or events of the Bible or with the saints, even as they were embedded in a real landscape that could be accessed in the physical world. A divide between the miraculous and the wondrous, between religion and science, would have been unfamiliar to the medieval person. Bringing cartography, geography and landscape archaeology into an understanding of religious travel removes an anachronistic divide that is a vestige of Enlightenment thought, not medieval thought, in order to examine the cultural impact that the Christian religion had on travel in the early medieval west.

### **Religion and travel in a global Middle Ages**

The global turn in medieval studies has gained momentum in the twenty-first century, influenced by a diversity of approaches, from the role of the Middle Ages as a category of importance in the history of Western colonialism to the questioning of the relevance of traditional medieval periodization outside of a European context.<sup>20</sup> An important methodology in the study of the “Global Middle Ages” is the comparative history of pre-modern cultures, which is useful in studying integrated regional systems.<sup>21</sup> Scholars also focus on connections and networks, both locally and in long-distance contexts. While the term “connectivity” has become a way of describing the ease of communicating between places, it more precisely describes the way that regions cohere, both internally and with one another.<sup>22</sup> This de-centered (or rather re-centered) history has provided scholars with the means to understand exchange as a phenomenon broader than trade, with cultures coming into contact and swapping ideas, particularly religious ones.

This cultural history of early medieval religion and travel examines the critical way that people and objects interacted with sacred places physically and imaginatively in a landscape, as well as examining how those travelers interacted socially in that same geographical milieu. Religiously significant places, through both use and association, are freighted with different kinds of social, political, temporal, mythological, and theological significances.<sup>23</sup> The social dynamics of the human relationship with place and space can be seen through the study of migration and borders, examining the interplay between political, social, and geographical movement.<sup>24</sup> Migrants did not just change place; their movement was also accompanied by changes in status, for instance becoming criminal or unemployable.<sup>25</sup> As political philosopher

Thomas Nail has put it, “Migrant in this sense is neither entirely free nor forced – the two are part of the same *regime of social motion*,” in which societies strive to expand their territorial, political, juridical, and economic power.<sup>26</sup> I would add religious power as well, with authority exercised through diverse forms of expulsion and acceptance of migrants. While some people might have decided to move as migrants or wanderers, others’ travel might be involuntary as exiles, captives, or slaves. In either case, no traveler got to decide the social conditions of his or her movement, or the degree to which they were expelled from the networks and social orders of their homelands.

Early medieval migration has been primarily studied through the lens of the barbarian movements into the Roman Empire in the fourth through sixth centuries.<sup>27</sup> In terms of sheer numbers, hundreds of thousands of people entered the secular and monastic clergy, far more than the number of barbarians, which was perhaps as high as in the tens of thousands, who entered the empire in this same period.<sup>28</sup> While not all of these hundreds of thousands of clergy were migrants, they were part of a vast change in the institutionalization of the Christian church that produced a churn in the social mobility of both elites and non-elites in the early medieval West. Migrants’ geographical movement often included changes in religious status, increasing a traveler’s power and holiness, and others’ perception of him or her a person with the charisma of distant places. These symbolic systems of mobility are predicated upon the notion that “sacred is a designation, an argument to be made. Individuals and communities make places sacred.”<sup>29</sup> These heterogeneous travelers and the places to and from which they moved were flexible and entangled, a complex and slippery dichotomy between places and people that existed in a physical realm, but which also existed in practice or ideology.

For instance, itinerant monks were figures whose status as long-distance travelers gave them power, both religious and political, in their new communities. Some figures, like the famous Irish *peregrinus* Columbanus (543–615), used this power to build followings among both clerical and lay audiences. Columbanus used his influence to criticize and cajole local rulers, playing one against another as he moved between royal courts and elite episcopal sees. He also used his charisma of distant places to found monastic institutions, which became holy places in their own right through their association with the saint both before and after his death. Migration across long distances was one path to exercising both spiritual and temporal power for travelers. Joining the history of trade to larger ideas about movement allows the economic, religious, and cultural behaviors of migrants to be viewed in the larger framework of social motion. Expulsion and exile, and the reverse, incorporation and acceptance, made medieval Europe a dynamic social and geographical zone, which was part of the transformation of the Roman world occurring in these centuries.

Beyond linking point A to point B, nature of these real-and-imagined religious travels is illuminated by examining the cultural and religious context of such connections. Early medieval people mediated the practical and

imaginative associations of religious travel by creating links through personal networks. Those networks were primarily those of kinship or fictive kinship, including biological affinities and fictive ties such as marriage, friendship, patronage, ownership, or spiritual kinship. Saints, religious travelers, and messengers made journeys on behalf of elite patrons or ordered others to travel on their behalf. Travel and cultural exchange between regions in this period involved the delicate negotiation of multiple and intersecting loyalties to God, to family and kin groups, to local communities, and to secular and ecclesiastical authorities that provided economic advantages, societal benefits, and religious blessings. Travel involved changing geographical locations; with that came the fostering of new social ties. Travelers did not have an unchanging “migratory” essence; they were not comprised of people with specific identities, but rather were defined by a social and geographical vector. Individuals could leave the vector; stop moving and settle into new communities, or take up or be granted different social positions. Their status as long-distance travelers and migrants meant that they were people whose holiness often went hand in hand with their networks of social motion through which the “charisma of distant places” might be demonstrated to the audiences of these texts.

## Sources and methods

A variety of sources must be examined in order to understand medieval travel, including the various genres of medieval narrative – histories, hagiographies, and deeds of great men (*historiae, vitae, gestae*) – that comprise the bulk of the textual source base for this study.<sup>30</sup> Additionally, the rich material and visual culture produced by medieval people is also brought to bear on the question of religious travel, from examining the iconography of early medieval maps and frescos, to understanding the built environment, from shrines to shipwrecks. Finally, physical geography and geographic information systems (GIS) mapping provide another route to understanding early medieval travelers, by locating medieval people in a specific geographical milieu.

The early medieval narrative sources under examination, especially didactic fiction and non-fiction, or combinations of the two, were an important way for people to work out the moral and practical ideas at issue within their culture. In hagiography and other kinds of narratives, real, physical travel gained meaning through metaphor and imagined religious ideas. Likewise, rhetorical travel gained authenticity by paralleling the experience of physical travel. The charisma of distant places allowed medieval people to understand the geographical world around them and the immaterial world of heaven through complementary lenses. These narratives embody this duality of “real-and-imagined” and the social motion engendered in mobility and migration studies. For ordinary people (clerics or laymen), saints and religious elites’ association with or knowledge of geographically distant phenomena accorded them an aura of prestige and awe that went hand in hand with their stature

and power as thaumaturges, ascetics, or elite members of the church hierarchy.<sup>31</sup> Saints' lives were not just pious fictions created to support a religious ideology, nor were they merely self-serving narratives created to support a particular political or economic strategy, nor did they simply promote the cults of particular saints. Rather, they are a window into an actual world that was neither naïve nor uninformed, but rather practical and savvy about the potential spiritual, social, material, and geographical connections that could be made across their known Christian world.

The divide between genres of medieval narrative by is artificial, as an *historia* has miracles, wonders, and religious events, and conversely, a *vita* has much historical information. This is demonstrated in the works of Gregory of Tours (538–594), who was an aristocrat from the Auvergne region of Francia, both of which defined his connections with people and places during his career as bishop of Tours.<sup>32</sup> He remained firmly entrenched in the networks of power and affiliation of his birthplace in Clermont and his kin, the Gallo-Roman aristocracy of what is now central France. While he traveled and sent others journeying on his behalf, Gregory's works reveal him to be a local boy at heart, with his writings demonstrating the importance of local culture within his ostensibly historical narratives. His most famous work is the *Decem Libri Historiarum*, here simply called the *Histories*.<sup>33</sup> Less well-known to non-specialists are his religious and hagiographical texts, such as the *Glory of the Martyrs*.<sup>34</sup> In both types of Gregory of Tours's didactic work, there was the continuing pull of the Mediterranean as a motivation for religious travelers.

Another example of an important narrative source that defies the categorization of modern genres is the *Liber Pontificalis* ("Book of the Pontiffs"), the early medieval collection of papal biographies, running from the Apostle Peter to Pope Hadrian II (r. 867–872). The *Liber Pontificalis* was first written by Lateran scribes in the early sixth century; the work was then updated on a life-by-life basis, or possibly in small batches.<sup>35</sup> The work was not meant to be a single book, but rather a continuous work-in-progress, subject to addition, excision, and revision.<sup>36</sup> This source was not biography in the classical tradition, like Suetonius' *The Lives of the Caesars* (ca. 121), nor his early medieval imitators, such as Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne* (ca. 833).<sup>37</sup> It also did not have the *topoi* or characteristics of another genre of medieval biography, the hagiographical lives of the saints. Instead, it was *sui generis*, with a distinctively Christian presentation of the Roman past designed to shape its audience's understanding of the history of the church. It circulated widely north of the Alps in the eighth and ninth centuries according to the manuscript tradition.<sup>38</sup> Early medieval authors had access to it, including the Venerable Bede in northern England by 724 for his famous *Ecclesiastical History* and Paul the Deacon in 787/795 for his *History of the Lombards*.<sup>39</sup> The extensive dissemination of the *Liber Pontificalis* beyond Rome made it an influential text through which Franks, Anglo-Saxons, and even Byzantines understood the place of Rome in history, which shaped their understanding of the city as a destination for religious travel.

Narrative sources serve as complementary witnesses to charters and other documentary sources that scholars have previously depended on in their examinations of medieval travel and movement. Using hagiographical and narrative “fiction” to establish facts about the social and cultural roles of religious travel during the period requires balancing the explicit assumptions about travel (people, things, and ideas all moved from one place to another) with the implicit meaning of travel within the broader cultural milieu. This allows scholars to use the entire text without discarding parts that seem “untrue” or undervaluing later adaptations of the text produced at particular historical moments. Historians should not fear turning to medieval fiction to establish fact; the historian’s impulse towards empirical facts should be combined with the critical theorist’s attention toward the conditions that makes those facts possible.<sup>40</sup> In this way, the reported travel found in hagiographical and other narrative sources functions as evidence of contact because of our underlying understanding of the purpose and audience of the text. The audience was supposed to find these stories inspiring and worthy of emulation. To do this, authors must have used plausible (if not necessarily “true”) and interesting tales to develop these religious themes. That so many early medieval religious texts include travel as an important element means that audiences found movement by religious elites credible, edifying, or exciting, and likely all three. These narratives included not just reliable material about one particular saint’s reported travels, but also on the methods and reasons for early medieval movement from place to place.

Textual sources on movement and exchange are augmented by an examination of the materiality of the religious landscape and the physical world. Inherent in the study of religious travel is the confluence between physical, material places and imagined or idealized places. Sacred places by their very nature straddle the real and the imagined, embedded in both physical dimensions and the human imagination, weighted with social, political, cultural, and theological significance. People and objects acquired religious value through their connection, real or perceived, with these sacred places and their movement across distances to encounter them. Evidence from material culture such as relics, visual art, and the built environment, as well a rich base of early medieval textual sources, engage with the real and experiential nature of medieval religious travel. Just as one cannot separate religious travelers from those who traveled for political or economic reasons, so too how medieval people described their world in texts cannot be separated from how they lived in the physical world. Both types of sources emanate from the same period and both show a kind of reality.

The “material” turn in history has been underway for the last thirty-five years and recent work has incorporated the movement of objects into historical study.<sup>41</sup> While archaeological evidence has for the most part been put to use in the study of late antique economic transformations and not the religious and cultural changes, material culture offers new perspectives of what travel meant for medieval people and how they went about it.<sup>42</sup> Material

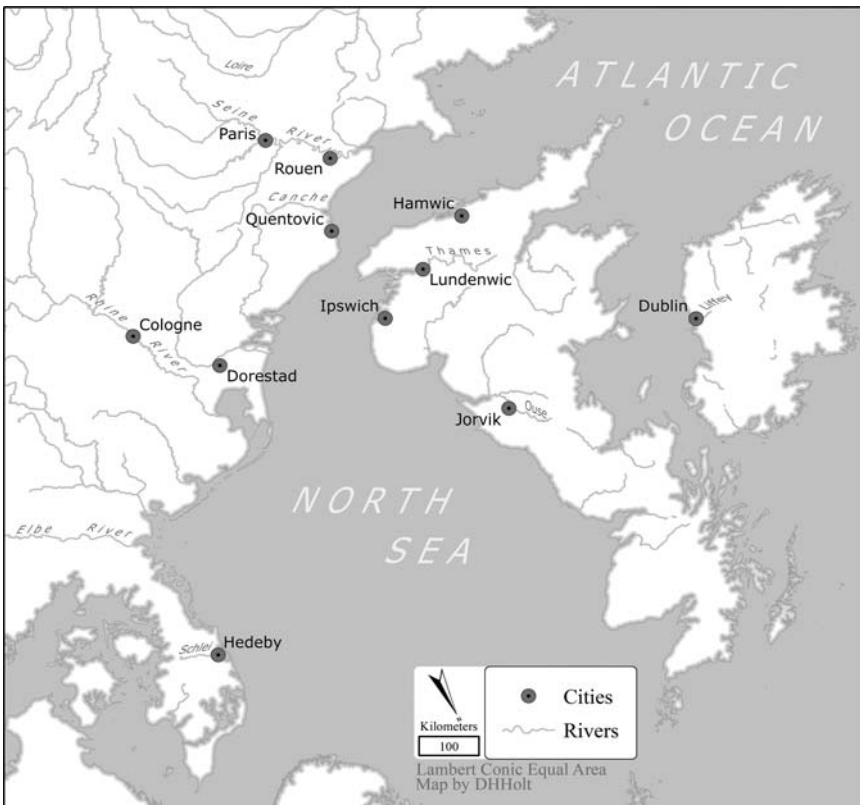
culture has become a source base of particular interest to social and cultural historians, who are exploring the affective meanings in things and objects to illuminate everything from religion to foodways.<sup>43</sup> While scholars no longer argue that the analysis of texts and objects should be siloed away from one another, archaeologists have critiqued historians' analysis of material culture as insufficiently engaged with data and overly reliant on secondary source syntheses.<sup>44</sup> A valuable counterpoint to this judgement comes from global historians, who because of the intentionally broad reach of the sub-field, have developed a methodology called "source pluralism" that relies on the straightforward principle that the credibility of information is strengthened when disparate sources agree, and weakened when they contradict each other, which also includes rigorous source criticism not only of primary documents, but also of secondary sources (such as climate scientists' findings on historical ice core data or archaeological excavation reports).<sup>45</sup> Source pluralism is especially useful for investigating obscure or under-sourced phenomena; for instance material culture sheds light on the movement of slaves and other unfree peoples through a study of the larger contours of trade and the migration of peoples. In late antiquity, iron slave shackles are found in both urban and rural environments, in Roman cities and on Roman farms, indicating the ubiquity of domestic and agricultural slaves. However, iron shackles from the early medieval period are much rarer and demonstrated multiple kinds of unfreedom rather than simply slavery, such as a decorated collar from Lagore crannog in Ireland that was likely used for elite hostages rather than for chattel slaves.<sup>46</sup>

Medieval objects and artifacts on the move are evidence exchange, but not simply of trade or gift-giving. The value of objects from far away was not only located in elite ownership or consumption, but in the imagined spaces these objects created.<sup>47</sup> This is even more the case for objects that demonstrated religious significance, including pilgrim tokens and the relics of saints and their reliquaries, which were objects that moved great distances across the Christian world in the early Middle Ages and had value that was not only material, but spiritual.<sup>48</sup> For instance, the sacred places in early medieval Rome, from churches to catacombs, had art and architecture that connected viewers to the martyrs of the early church, and those who went to visit those places could reflect or absorb that power for themselves. Additionally, these actors and objects gained charisma through imaginative or perceived movement. The textual and material sources engaged with travel rhetorically and representationally, with distance conveying authority even if no one really went anywhere. For example, relics were imbued with sacred power associated with a holy place or person. Whether they were *translationes* of the literal body parts of a saint, or a pilgrim's souvenir like an oil flask blessed at the Lateran basilica, these objects had spiritual power. Travelers might carry objects or tokens with them, but once the travel ceased, an object maintained the authority of its association with a sacred place. The venerator of such a relic, even if he or



she never traveled to the place of its origin, sought to reflect that charisma of distant places onto themselves.

Neither textual sources nor material culture alone can lay bare the mindsets of medieval travelers; the environment, geography, and ecology also reveal the physical reality of travel within the early medieval period.<sup>49</sup> Focusing on humans' interaction with their environment, from the creation of new towns in the landscape to ways that travelers described those places in their didactic fiction sidesteps the problem of environmental determinism that has plagued the early practitioners of geographical theory and spatial history.<sup>50</sup> Instead, "patterns of human endeavor" shaped spatial reality.<sup>51</sup> While human networks of communication and migration were constructed in response to the physical and geographical constraints, an analysis of geographical realities must leave room for human agency.<sup>52</sup> Travel within the sources is a window into both the geographical reality



*Map I.1* Early medieval wics and towns.

Source: David H. Holt.

and the spatial imagination of the early medieval peoples. That is to say, medieval historical sources reveal geographies that were shaped not by accurate depictions of oceans and landmasses as currently available on Google Earth, but rather by medieval understandings about the shape of the world. At the same time, the places within the texts did, in fact, exist in both time and space, and can be mapped using modern GIS software.<sup>53</sup>

For instance, an early medieval sailor from the emporium of Hamwic (modern Southampton) would not have viewed the English Channel on a north-south axis or as a barrier between England and France (see Map 1.1). Instead, he would have seen the Channel on an east-west axis that emphasized the waterway's importance as a passage from the Atlantic into the North Sea, which led not just to Scandinavia and the north, but to the mouths of the important rivers of Continental Europe that provided access to the hinterland and inland routes to southern Europe. Likewise, to that same sailor, areas that today seem to be accessible by boat, such as the long beaches of French coastline along the Bay of Biscay, were little used in the medieval period because of their lack of natural harbors and the marshy terrain just inland of the coast.

GIS sits comfortably within the study of classic hagiology because the physical world shapes human ideas about the divine. At the same time, people themselves shape perceptions about their environment, including how physical and imaginative locations converge. The common denominator is medieval people, both authors and audiences of texts, who experienced both the physical world and the miraculous one simultaneously, skirting around our modern ideas about geographical or scientific reality. In this project, sources from Gaul and Francia have been privileged, as this region was central to the currents of religious travel in western Europe since it mediated relations between northern Europe (Ireland, England, Scandinavia) and the Mediterranean (Italy, Septimania, the Levant).<sup>54</sup> Francia itself was both a departure point and a destination for religious travelers, and the region, which included sub-regions from Austrasia to Aquitaine to the Auvergne, functioned at times as a cohesive geographical unit, and at other times like a collection of micro-regions.<sup>55</sup>

Relying upon narrative sources in my project will inevitably provide distortions about actual travel or precise movement; we cannot take authors at their word because modern people construct the notion of literal, "factual" truth in very different ways from medieval authors and audiences. Sacred fiction is a mirror for medieval ideas about their world. Like a mirror, images can appear reversed or distorted, reflecting light differently depending on the object and the observer. Hagiographical sources in particular had the goal of making a holy person embedded in both the human and divine worlds. These sources, when combined with an understanding of mobility, material culture, and spatial studies, demonstrate the diversity and variety of religious travel in post-Roman world, from the voluntary journeys of holy wanderers to the forced travel of Christian slaves; from disobedient monks to dutiful papal

legates. In this sense then, it is not just the people or their goods that were in motion, but the places and texts themselves, shifting and changing in relation to complex agents who used and transformed them. Holy people too were bound by this combination of real-and-imagined, matter and miracle, virtue and sin. The geographical journeys these saints embarked upon within the hagiographical narratives mirrored the spiritual journey of a human being to God, which was important to both the medieval authors and audiences of these texts.

## Organization

Beginning with the practicalities of early medieval travel grounds all early medieval travelers, no matter their status or reason for traveling, in a common physical space. The first chapter reveals medieval religious travelers in both objective and subjective terms, in the real-and-imagined landscape of motion and migration. The focus is on humans' interaction with their environment, from the creation of new towns in the landscape to ways that travelers described those places in their didactic fiction. In the minds of early medieval religious travelers, long-distance movement offered real danger for both body and soul. This feeling of physical and spiritual danger is seen in sources from throughout the early Middle Ages, from the sixth-century saints' lives by Gregory of Tours to the eighth-century missionary journeys of St. Boniface described in letters and narratives. The mechanics of early medieval travel and transportation reflected a continuity with the ancient world through maritime geography. There were incremental changes in technology, through regional variation in ship design for instance. There were significant changes in destination through the foundation of new trading places and settlements, the early medieval *wics*. The surviving Roman road system suggested a basic continuity, but overland travel did reflect the new technological, economic, and social changes of the early medieval period. However, while there had been travel to pagan holy men and holy places in the ancient world, the increase in the scale of Christian religious travel demonstrates that the early Middle Ages was a dynamic period for travelers.

The central two chapters focus on goal-oriented religious travelers, from pilgrims and holy men to ecclesiastical bureaucrats, which were not mutually exclusive, who traveled with purpose to the holy places of Rome and Jerusalem. These important holy places of the Mediterranean were perceived as both symbolic and real places of power for western travelers. No place in the early medieval world was more weighted with the multivalent associations of space and place than Jerusalem. In the second chapter, visual, material, and textual sources show that Jerusalem was a pilgrim site that was connected to elite discourses about sacred space, in which hierarchy and power were central ways that early medieval people perceived and organized space. Medieval authors conceptualized these real and imagined sacred spaces in theological and social terms. However, they had to be physically negotiated by people

whose ideas about Jerusalem might not have matched the contemporary uses of a real landscape. The contestation between ideal place and real place is mirrored in the contestation by the different religious and ethnic groups (locals and foreigners alike) who lived or traveled alongside one another in the landscape of the eastern Mediterranean. Mapping the physical and mental space the early medieval Holy Land is possible by focusing on visual and material sources, including early medieval maps, pilgrim tokens, and relics, such as the *Sancta Sanctorum* collection in Rome. The material culture of the era is complemented by textual sources that focus on the ideas and actual travel of early medieval western Christians to Jerusalem. These include biblical exegesis, like that of Bede (672/3–735) writing at the abbey of Wearmouth-Jarrow in northern England and Adomnán (624–704), writing at his abbey of Iona in what is now western Scotland. It also includes hagiographical texts like the *Life of Willibald* by the Anglo-Saxon nun Huneberc (fl. 780), writing at the Abbey of Heidenheim in Bavaria. Jerusalem was a place in motion, in which the spatial mobility of religious travelers and the stories about that movement contributed to Jerusalem's status contested sacred space.

While Jerusalem's ideal was that of the heavenly city, the third chapter explores Rome's ideal for its northern European visitors, which was as the home of martyrs and saints, popes and soldiers. For northerners, part of Rome's power came from its distance, and the holiness of the martyrs was reinforced by their placement in the distant heart of the capital of the old Roman Empire. This chapter follows pilgrims spatially through the city of Rome, entering the city as visitors, facing the practical realities of the city, from streets to lodgings, experiencing the tombs and churches of the city of the martyrs, and coming into contact with the holy people and places through relics of the saints. While it is well understood that *romanitas* was a function of ethnic identity, this chapter offers new insight into "Romanness". Rome's status as a sacred place played a crucial role in the development of individual and collective Roman identity, connecting to the Franks' spatial imagination of Rome, with the city embodying the power and holiness of the sacred places. The hagiographical texts about holy men who traveled to Rome, such as seventh-century Frankish bishop Dado of Rouen (609–686), were not concerned with defining their subjects' identity as Roman (or barbarian). Instead, they created a unified *romanitas* in which the places of Christian martyrs' deaths and tombs became accessible physically and spiritually to all those who recognized their power. Likewise, local texts about the sanctity of Rome as a holy place like the *Liber Pontificalis* sought to tie the idea of Romanness to authority of the bishop of Rome. During the early Middle Ages, the power of the holy place and Roman identity became available to anyone who could travel to Rome or who could associate with those holy men or holy objects that had moved to or from there.

The next two chapters examine religious travelers as migrants, both elite and non-elite, who settled far from their homelands for political, religious,

and economic reasons. Religion and travel were linked through the social motion of those who moved over long distances. The fourth chapter focuses on the itinerant monk, who was a figure that demonstrated that religious travel was a widely-practiced form of migration in early medieval Europe. Wandering monks, called “gyrovagues” in early medieval monastic rules, were considered the worst kind of monk. For the privileged and settled, the religious traveler was not just a figure of power and holiness. The obverse of that power was the danger, poverty, and instability religious travel produced in those who moved, and those who encountered the unsteady lifestyle of those who tramped about from place to place. The chapter follows these monastic travelers beyond the monastery in their wandering, as well as their changing vector as they founded new monasteries and settlements. Keeping monks inside the monastery, as well as both clerical and lay visitors separate from monks, was the task of exegetes and monastic rules, but the tension between ideal and practice was evident, especially in the migratory or itinerant behavior of women and missionaries. The early medieval geopolitical world was heterogeneous, with competing dynasties and subkingdoms, from Neustria and Austrasia to Aquitaine and Burgundy, linked internally and to one another through kinship ties and legal ties. When non-local holy men, such as the Irish saint Columbanus (543–615) or the Anglo-Saxon missionary Boniface (675–754), entered this geographical and political system without such ties, they had an extra-legal and extra-political power that came not from being enmeshed in such local and worldly affairs, but their outsider political status also made them vulnerable. Elites who sought to make their own power plays harnessed this authority. However, religious travel also threatened those same elites, as many of the wanderers in this chapter were exiled by secular elites at some point in their careers. While such political and religious movement has been looked at extensively as missionary narratives or the wandering of holy men, both mission and *peregrinatio* were linked to the social motion of migration.

The fifth and final chapter explores travel and social motion during the early Middle Ages that was not necessarily positive or voluntary. Captivity and slavery moved people from place to place because of forces outside of their personal control. This lack of control over one’s own movement was a crucial part of unfreedom, and this chapter argues that both captivity and slavery formed part of the early medieval experience that linked religion and travel. Whether free or unfree, migrants’ movement might include changes in religious status, increasing a religious traveler’s power and holiness and others’ perception of him as a person with the charisma of distant places. Hereditary chattel slaves moved more often than has previously been explored, and forced exile from one’s homeland and imprisonment or enslavement for crimes or debts was common in the period. Many travelers were vulnerable to political exile, even through association, as holy men who spoke spiritual truth to secular power displeased their kings and patrons. Like the gyrovague, who was part of the voluntary migration of early medieval

religious travelers, medieval unfree people were migrants and outsiders, a status which shaped their religious roles as travelers. A common *topos* in Frankish hagiography was the freeing of slaves and captives, and religious travelers often encountered the unfree in their movement, or were unfree themselves, exemplified in the mid-seventh-century *Life of Eligius*, about a unfree goldsmith who becomes a bishop, and Alcuin's late eighth-century reworking of the *Life of Richarius*, in which the saint travels from Francia to Britain to redeem captives and slaves. The relationship between unfreedom and religious travel integrates the economic motives for human exchange with religious and political reasons. The economic, religious, and cultural transformation of the Roman world is unmistakable from the social and physical movement of elites and non-elites, free and unfree peoples.

### **The charisma of distant places**

The power and holiness that early medieval travelers accrued through their movement is conceived as the "charisma of distant places." This charismatic authority connected them on a vertical axis to the divine, but also connected them horizontally to geographically distant places. Both forms of connectivity were ways that early medieval people connected to the power of religiously significant places. The confluence of real-and-imagined ideas of place and space are central issues, in which people and objects acquired religious value through connections, both real and perceived, with sacred places and the movement across distance that it took to encounter them. Instead of binary poles between the miraculous and the wondrous, the physical and the ideological, the natural and the supernatural, the both/and dichotomy reveals the spectrum of medieval *mentalités* on being and space. Geography can be brought to bear to understand the duality of both scientific reality and religious ideology for medieval people.

While the early medieval period has been called the "Age of Migration," early medieval movement from place to place has previously focused on barbarian tribes in the Roman Empire, deeming long-distance travel a function of the ancient world, medieval hagiographical accounts of travel as fictional. By viewing travel through the lens of place and movement, I add to the conversation on migration and global history by understanding how religious movement is connected to social motion, in which people are neither entirely free nor entirely forced to move from place to place. The scholarly conversation about the "transformation of the Roman world" is augmented with an understanding of a spatial reality that was anything but simple or finished, but rather complex and ongoing. The early Middle Ages was a period of political and economic change, as well as religious and cultural transformation. Travel is key to understanding the trade and economics in the post-Roman world, but the study of movement has been underutilized in understanding these religious and cultural changes. Religious travelers fit into this same dynamic milieu of the movement of merchants and trade goods. The changes in travel and religion during the

course of the period 500–850 mirrored the changes in economics, politics, and society; religious travel was not separate from other kinds of movement, but rather amplified and mirrored by them.

The diversity, complexity, and heterogeneity of religious travel is revealed, relying on the productive tension between physical geography and material culture, which grounded these travelers in reality, and spatial imagination and religious ideology, which exposed the real-and-imagined points-of-view of both the authors and the audiences of these saints' lives. The cumulative weight of the evidence and perspectives demonstrates a complex, diverse, multivalent religious travel milieu in the early medieval west. Travel and movement were fundamental to ideas about both power and holiness in the period, a cultural context that gave travelers social and ideological power in early medieval European societies.

## Notes

- 1 "Carmen Navale," lines 1–4 in G.S.M. Walker, ed., *Sancti Columbani Opera*, (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1957), 190. Past editors have attributed this poem to the Irish saint Columbanus, but modern scholarship holds that this is a spurious attribution, although the song is still thought to be from the seventh century; see Daniel J. Sheerin, "Celeuma in Christian Latin: Lexical and Literary Notes." *Traditio* 38 (1982): 45–74.
- 2 R.A. Markus, "How on Earth Could Places Become Holy? Origin of the Christian Idea of Holy Places." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 2 (1994): 257–71.
- 3 Eusebius discussed how Jerusalem had become unworthy to be called "God's City" using the Book of Daniel. Eusebius of Caesarea, "Demonstratio evangelium." Ed. J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 22 (Paris: Imprimerie catholique, 1857), cols. 599–602; W.J. Ferrar, trans., *Proof of the Gospel* (London: SPCK, 1920), [http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/eusebius\\_de\\_10\\_book8.htm](http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/eusebius_de_10_book8.htm).
- 4 Eusebius of Caesarea, "Vita Constantini," Book III.28–39 described the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, saying that "a new Jerusalem was constructed facing the old one" over the "sacred cave" where Jesus was buried in VC III.33. Eusebius of Caesarea, "Vita Constantini." Ed. J.-P. Migne, PG 20 (Paris: Imprimerie catholique, 1857), col. 1094. See also, Robert L. Wilken, *The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History and Thought* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 88–93.
- 5 Cyril of Jerusalem, "Catecheses 13." Ed. J.-P. Migne, PG 33 (Paris: Imprimerie catholique, 1857), cols. 799–800; Edward Yarnold, trans., *Cyril of Jerusalem* (London: Routledge, 2000), 149–63. See also, Christine Shepardson, *Controlling Contested Places, Late Antique Antioch and the Spatial Politics of Religious Controversy* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2014), 226–30.
- 6 Gregory of Nyssa, Ep. 2.16, "To Kensitor on pilgrimages." W. Jaeger, ed., *Gregorii Nysseni Opera*, vol. 8.2 (Leiden: Brill, 1958), 13–19; Anna M. Silvas, trans., *Gregory of Nyssa: The Letters: Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 121.
- 7 Augustine of Hippo, *De Doctrina Christiana*, 1.9. Ed. and trans. R.P.H. Green (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 16–17.
- 8 Egeria, "Itinerarium," in *Itineraria et Alia Geographica. Itineraria Hierosolymitana. Itineraria Romana. Geographica*, ed. P. Geyer et al., vol. 175, CCSL (Turnhout: Brepols, 1965), 37–90. See Maribel Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins*,

- and *Pilgrims: Ascetic Travel in the Mediterranean World, A.D. 300–800* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2005), 43–68.
- 9 Janet L. Nelson, “Opposition to Pilgrimage in the Reign of Charlemagne.” In *Rome and Religion in the Medieval World: Studies in Honor of Thomas F.X. Noble*, ed. Valerie L. Garver and Owen M. Phelan (London: Routledge, 2016), 65–82; Samuel W. Collins, *The Carolingian Debate over Sacred Space* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012).
  - 10 Ian Wood, *The Transformation of the Roman West* (Kalamazoo, MI: ARC Humanities Press, 2018), 30.
  - 11 Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200–1000* (Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, 2013), 16; Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, vol. 3 (New York: Bedminster Press, 1968), 1111–12.
  - 12 Mary W. Helms, *Ulysses’ Sail: An Ethnographic Odyssey of Power, Knowledge, and Geographical Distance* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988).
  - 13 Michel Foucault, “Des Espaces Autres.” *Architecture-Mouvement-Continuité* 5 (1967): 46–49; Jay Miskowiec, trans., “Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias.” *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (1986): 22–27.
  - 14 Spatial theorist Edward Soja defined “first space” as real, physical places. “Second space” was mental or ideological space. Finally, “thirdspace” was this combination of real and imagined, mental and physical. Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1996), 56.
  - 15 Robert Bartlett, *The Natural and the Supernatural in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 75.
  - 16 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*. Ed. W.M. Lindsay (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), III.30, [http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/L/Roman/Texts/Isidore/3\\*.html](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/L/Roman/Texts/Isidore/3*.html); Stephen A. Barney et al., trans., *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 99–100.
  - 17 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, III.42.4.
  - 18 Richard Feynman, *Feynman Lectures on Physics*, vol. 1 (New York: Basic Books, 1963), Ch. 37 Quantum Behavior, [http://www.feynmanlectures.caltech.edu/I\\_37.html](http://www.feynmanlectures.caltech.edu/I_37.html).
  - 19 Bartlett, *The Natural and the Supernatural in the Middle Ages*, 18–19.
  - 20 Kathleen Davis and Nadia Altschul, eds., *Medievalisms in the Postcolonial World* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); Robert I. Moore, “A Global Middle Ages?” In *The Prospect of Global History*, ed. James Belich et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 80–92; Julia McClure, “A New Politics of the Middle Ages: A Global Middle Ages for a Global Modernity.” *History Compass* 13, no. 11 (2015): 610–19; Catherine Holmes and Naomi Standen, “Introduction: Towards a Global Middle Ages.” *Past & Present* 238, no. suppl\_13 (2018): 1–44; Erik Hermans, ed., *A Companion to the Global Early Middle Ages, 600–900 CE* (Kalamazoo, MI: ARC Humanities Press, 2019).
  - 21 Geraldine Heng, “The Global Middle Ages: An Experiment in Collaborative Humanities, or Imagining the World, 500–1500 C.E.” *English Language Notes* 47, no. 1 (2009): 205–16; Chris Wickham, “Problems in Doing Comparative History.” In *Challenging the Boundaries of Medieval History*, ed. Patricia Skinner (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 5–28; Monica Green, “Taking ‘Pandemic’ Seriously: Making the Black Death Global.” *The Medieval Globe* 1, Pandemic Disease in the Medieval World: Rethinking the Black Death (2014): 27–62; James T. Palmer, “The Global Eminent Life: Sixth-Century Collected Biographies from Gregory of Tours to Huijiao of Jiexiang Temple.” *Medieval Worlds: Comparative and Interdisciplinary Studies* 8 (2018): 22–41.



- 22 Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Wiley, 2000); Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, "The Mediterranean and 'the New Thalassology,'" *American Historical Review* 111, no. 3 (2006): 722–40. Horden and Purcell's connectivity is dependent of course upon Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 2 vols., trans. Siân Reynolds (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995).
- 23 Jacob N. Kinnard, *Places in Motion: The Fluid Identities of Temples, Images, and Pilgrims* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), xvi. Henri Lefebvre's philosophical understanding of the nature of place has three parts, encompassing time, space, and society, which he called the "triple dialectic." Henri Lefebvre, *La production de l'espace* (Paris: Editions Anthropos, 1974); Donald Nicholson-Smith, trans., *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992).
- 24 Called "kinopolitics" in recent works by Thomas Nail, *The Figure of the Migrant* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2015); Thomas Nail, *Theory of the Border* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016). See also Barbara Bender, "Place and Landscape." In *Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. Chris Tilley et al. (London: Sage Publications, 2006), 303–14.
- 25 Nail, *The Figure of the Migrant*, 14. Nail's work is unusual among spatial theorists in his attempt to include pre-modern societies into his framework for migration studies.
- 26 Nail, 2–3. Emphasis in the original.
- 27 The scholarship on the questions of early medieval ethnicity and migration is long with a deep vein of colonialism and racism that has plagued medieval studies since its inception as a discipline; two recent works address these issues in different ways. On barbarians and ethnicity, see Guy Halsall, "Transformations of Romanness: The Northern Gallic Case." In *Transformations of Romanness: Early Medieval Regions and Identities*, ed. Walter Pohl et al. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2018), 41–58. More broadly, see Geraldine Heng, *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).
- 28 Wood, *The Transformation of the Roman West*, 79.
- 29 Kinnard, *Places in Motion*, xviii.
- 30 The major categories of medieval historical writing were laid out by Herbert Grundmann, *Geschichtsschreibung im Mittelalter: Gattungen, Epochen, Eigenart* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965). A succinct English-language overview of modern Quellenkritik is Joel T. Rosenthal, ed., *Understanding Medieval Primary Sources: Using Historical Sources to Discover Medieval Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2014). Rosenthal's volume also includes chapters on visual sources and material culture as historical sources.
- 31 Foundational works include: Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1981); Felice Lifshitz, "Beyond Positivism and Genre: 'Hagiographical' Texts as Historical Narrative." *Viator* 25 (1994): 95–114; Guy Philippart and Michel Trigalet, "Latin Hagiography before the Ninth Century." In *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Early Medieval Studies*, ed. Jennifer R. Davis and Michael McCormick (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), 111–30. A recent short overview of the field summarizes many of the trends: James T. Palmer, *Early Medieval Hagiography* (Kalamazoo, MI: ARC Humanities Press, 2018).
- 32 Frank D. Gilliard, "The Senators of Sixth-Century Gaul." *Speculum* 54, no. 4 (1979): 685–97; Martin Heinzelmann, *Gregory of Tours: History and Society in the Sixth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Kathleen Mitchell and Ian Wood, eds., *The World of Gregory of Tours* (Leiden: Brill, 2002); Walter A. Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550–800): Jordanes,*

- Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 112–234.
- 33 Gregory of Tours, *Decem Libri Historiarum*, ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, MGH SRM 1, Part 1 (Hanover, 1884). The work is often mistitled “History of the Franks” after the title of a famous translation, Lewis Thorpe, trans., *A History of the Franks* (London: Penguin Classics, 1976).
  - 34 Gregory of Tours, “Gloria Martyrum,” ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM 1, Part 2 (Hanover, 1885), 34–111.
  - 35 Louis Duchesne, ed., *Liber Pontificalis*, vol. 1 (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1886), xxxiii–xlvi.
  - 36 Thomas F.X. Noble, “A New Look at the ‘Liber Pontificalis.’” *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 23 (1985): 347–58.
  - 37 Suetonius, *De Vita Caesarum. The Lives of the Caesars*, ed. J.C. Rolfe, 2 vols., Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914); Einhard, “Vita Karoli Magni.” Ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH SRG 25 (Hanover, 1911).
  - 38 Rosamond McKitterick, “The Papacy and Byzantium in the Seventh- and Early Eighth-Century Sections of the Liber Pontificalis.” *Papers of the British School at Rome* 84(2016): 268–69.
  - 39 Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969); Paul the Deacon, “Historia Langobardorum.” Ed. G. Waitz, vol. 1, MGH SSRL (Hanover, 1878), 2–187.
  - 40 Bruno Latour, “Why Has Critique Run out of Steam? From Matters of Fact to Matters of Concern.” *Critical Inquiry* 30 (2004): 231; Michael McCormick, *The Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, c.700-c.900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 267.
  - 41 The modern historiography starts with Henri Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne*, trans. Bernard Miall (London: Unwin, 1965). Responses to the Pirenne thesis through archaeology and material cultural analysis are numerous, from Richard Hodges and David Whitehouse, *Mohammed, Charlemagne and the Origins of Europe: Archaeology and the Pirenne Thesis* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983); to Bonnie Effros, “The Enduring Attraction of the Pirenne Thesis.” *Speculum* 92, no. 1 (2017): 184–208. A good recent overview is Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, “Introduction: The Global Lives of Things.” In *Writing Material Culture History*, ed. Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015), 6–7.
  - 42 There is a notable exception in the realm of economic history; see Michael McCormick’s discussion of relics and pilgrimage in McCormick, *The Origins of the European Economy*, 283–308. However, for the most part, “modern interpretations of the late Roman economy and society depend on archaeology, and they do so to an extent that the interpretation of religion and politics do not.” Wood, *The Transformation of the Roman West*, 2.
  - 43 Valerie L. Garver, “Material Culture and Social History in Early Medieval Western Europe.” *History Compass* 12, no. 10 (2014): 784–93; Harvey Green, “Cultural History and the Material(s) Turn.” *Cultural History* 1, no. 1 (2012): 77.
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- 51 Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, 392. A penetrating review of both *Origins of the European Economy* and *The Corrupting Sea* is available from Edward Peters, "Quid Nobis Cum Pelago? The New Thalassology and the Economic History of Europe." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 34, no. 1 (2003): 49–61.
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- 53 Faye Taylor, "Mapping Miracles: Early Medieval Hagiography and the Potential of GIS." In *History and GIS: Epistemologies, Considerations and Reflections*, ed. Alexander von Lünen and Charles Travis (Dordrecht: Springer, 2012), 111–26. Data and layers are available for GIS on the project website of Michael McCormick, Guoping Huang, and Kelly Gibson, *Digital Atlas of Roman and Medieval Civilizations* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), <http://darmc.harvard.edu>; and "Regnum Francorum Online," <http://www.francia.ahlfeldt.se/index.php>.
- 54 Katrien Heene, "Merovingian and Carolingian Hagiography. Continuity or Change in Public and Aims?" *Analecta Bollandiana* 107, no. 3–4 (1989): 415–28; Paul Fouracre and Richard A. Gerberding, eds., *Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography, 640–720* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996); John Kitchen, *Saints' Lives and the Rhetoric of Gender: Male and Female in Merovingian Hagiography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).
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# 1 Practicalities of early medieval travel

Wilfrid, bishop of York (633–709), was deposed from his episcopal see in 678, having made an enemy of Queen Iurminburg of Northumbria and her husband King Ecgrith. Ecgrith, dismayed and jealous of Wilfrid's lavish lifestyle, drove him from Northumbria and appropriated the land and wealth for himself, with the aid of Theodore of Tarsus, archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>1</sup> Wilfrid decided to appeal this outrage against his episcopal dignity directly to the pope in Rome. Already a traveler (he had visited Rome as young man and been consecrated a priest in Lyons), Wilfrid crossed the Channel. His enemies thought that he would land at the port city of Quentovic at the mouth of the Canche River, which was the most direct route [*via rectissima*] to Rome between England and the Continent.<sup>2</sup> Quentovic was an important *wic*, or trading center, a new kind of urban settlement that developed in the seventh century and facilitated communication and exchange across both physical and political frontiers. Avoiding an open and undefended trading site was imperative for Wilfrid, as he was not a merchant or a pilgrim, but a political refugee fleeing an unstable situation in England. Luckily for Wilfrid (and unluckily for another traveler), Wilfrid was mistaken for Winfrid, bishop of Lichfield, by the “fortunate mistake in one syllable.” Poor Winfrid was captured and robbed, and his companions were slain; he was “left naked and in the utmost straits of misery” by Frankish mercenaries, who had been paid by Wilfrid of York's enemies in Neustria who were allied with Northumbria.<sup>3</sup> While long-distance journeys could be dangerous and thieves preyed upon travelers, this assault was not an ordinary robbery, but rather an attempted assassination at a moment of intense personal vulnerability. Wilfrid was traveling outside his homeland and, more importantly, he traveled without the political imprimatur (or armed escort) of an elite or royal patron. The physical movement from Britain to the Continent was mirrored by the social motion of Wilfrid, who was forced into political exile and sought to restore himself to his episcopal see through travel to Rome, seeking power through association with the distant authority of the popes and the apostles Peter and Paul.

Before he could claim the authority and power of Rome however, he had to get there. This required him to enmesh himself in new political networks on the Continent. Wilfrid's actual route took him north to Frisia where he stayed for a year as a guest at the court of Aldgisl, king of the Frisians, at the

fortress of Utrecht, just fifteen miles northwest of another important *wic*, Dorestad. Wilfrid's hagiographer, Stephen of Ripon, initially painted the saint's stay in Frisia as a mission trip, with some Frisian pagans converting because Wilfrid's arrival coincided with the local fishermen's excellent catch of fish and good harvests that autumn.<sup>4</sup> King Aldgisl was pagan and did not convert to Christianity, but he did ally himself with the fugitive Northumbrian bishop because Aldgisl was no friend to the Neustrian Frankish elites who had attempted to murder Wilfrid on his journey. These elites sent messengers with a letter that offered Aldgisl a bushel of gold *solidi* to hand over the fugitive bishop directly or send his head.<sup>5</sup> At a feast in front of his Frisian allies, the Frankish messengers, and Wilfrid's Northumbrian entourage, Aldgisl rejected the Frankish offer of blood money, throwing the letter into the fire and saying that to go back on his oath would be a crime. The political network that Wilfrid assembled with the Frisians against their common Frankish enemy gave him the power and backing that he needed to continue his journey to Rome to regain power in his own territory.

Wilfrid's winter with the Frisians had been a vulnerable moment of travel, as he had not had the economic or political support of a patron. After allying with Aldgisl of Frisia, Wilfrid was able to leverage that support to journey to other locations where he had political allies. In the spring, Wilfrid traveled on the Meuse-Rhine river system from Utrecht to the court of King Dagobert II of Austrasia, whose territory centered on the Rhineland, near Strasbourg. Wilfrid and Dagobert had a history, as Wilfrid had been the young king's ally when the cleric helped Dagobert regain his own throne after exile in Britain and Ireland. The practical worth of these social networks of travel was illuminated when Dagobert provided Wilfrid with supplies, gifts, and a local guide named Bishop Deodatus.<sup>6</sup> The practical rhythms of travel required food and lodging, gifts and bribes to smooth the way, and most importantly, someone who knew the best routes and locals to provide introductions. Continuing to make his way south with the help of patrons, Wilfrid arrived at the court of Perctarit, king of the Lombards, who also provided the saint with local escorts to make his way to Rome.<sup>7</sup> Perctarit called Wilfrid and his companions pilgrims, though their reason for traveling was ostensibly political, not religious. Likewise, Wilfrid with his large entourage and wealth that had so provoked the Northumbrian king, would have made many economic transactions along the road, not least of which was provisioning both people and pack animals.

While the narrative of Wilfrid's flight from Britain to Rome is political, the practical rhythms of travel are apparent even though not the hagiographer's focus. Wilfrid's flight from Northumbria to Rome was facilitated through his economic and political network, but it was also a religious journey. Wilfrid's hagiographer takes care to note that he converted many pagans during his stay in Frisia. Wilfrid's journey was both out of religious conviction and political necessity; the political, economic, and religious motives for his movement were inseparable.

Saintly travel stories like the *Life of Wilfrid* allow us to examine of the textual representations of travel and exchange in narrative sources. These include entirely practical considerations, such as funds for the journey and guides for unfamiliar territory, but the text also points to the larger currents of early medieval movement. The cultural, political, and religious exchange that Wilfrid facilitated connected disparate peoples, with the first being the Frisians who took in the refugee bishop. Despite the fact that they were pagan, Wilfrid sought the support of Aldgisl and his people against his fellow Christians (both at home in northern England and in Francia). Connecting himself personally to the Frisian king was the first step that allowed him to have protection and support on the rest of his journey. The new network was not just personal though, as it also connected Frisia and Northumbria politically and religiously beyond Wilfrid's own lifetime, laying the foundation for a Northumbrian of the next generation, the missionary bishop Willibrord (658–739) to journey to Frisia to spread Christianity and Northumbrian political influence. A cultural understanding of long-distance religious travelers like Wilfrid and many others reveals the mindset of those who traveled for a variety of reasons, from political exile to becoming closer to god, and those audiences who dreamed of travel as a way of connecting to the power of those holy people and places. The practical ways that people and their ideas move across space and time through social and religious networks is a key feature of migration and the study of the global connections in the early Middle Ages.

### **The role of the maritime environment**

To become situated within this historical and cultural milieu, the role of the physical environment provides a much-needed dose of reality when examined alongside the sometimes-fantastical travel stories in the narrative sources. Beginning with the requirements and constraints of voyages themselves, travelers often journeyed by water. Sea voyages were (and still are) controlled by currents, tides, winds, and storms; a long-term continuity that travelers and sailors accommodated. The sailing vessels themselves showed only small improvements in technology over time; more important than change over time in this area was the regional variation of ships, as the boats that sailed the Atlantic, the Mediterranean, and the European river systems were very different from one another. Land travel too showed a fundamental continuity with antiquity, although the evidence for it is sparse, likely because it was far more expensive than sea transport. Land transport was plagued more with human impediments to travel, such as bandits and thieves, than was water transportation. The mechanics of early medieval travel and transportation reflect an essential continuity with the ancient world through geography, but there were incremental changes in technology, through regional variation in ships and navigation.<sup>8</sup>

The geographical setting that controlled medieval travel by water was determined by the conditions of the five interlocking seas that surround

Europe: the Black Sea, the Mediterranean, the Atlantic, the North Sea, and the Baltic. Each sea has its character as a discrete geographical entity, with a rhythm of life that bound its coastal and riverine communities together. In addition to the highly local character of these waterways, their inherent connectedness allowed for individuals to travel in specific predictable, though not always safe, ways. Sea travel was controlled by three main factors: tides, currents, and winds.<sup>9</sup> In the Mediterranean, the tidal effect is slight; however, along the Atlantic coast of Europe, the tidal displacement can be as high as forty-six feet along the northern Breton coast. The turning of the tide often produced quite sudden changes in the current, but to local sailors familiar with these phenomena and knowledgeable about the area, the Atlantic was both navigable and convenient. In the Mediterranean, the force of the Atlantic waters entering through the Straits of Gibraltar produce a general counter-clockwise current. While it is interrupted and complicated within the sea by cross-currents, the primary current made it possible, with careful inshore sailing, to travel with ease around the whole of the Mediterranean. However, the current prevented sailors from sailing across the Mediterranean, increasing sailing times between Europe and North Africa, which were short distances away from one another as the crow flies, but were time-consuming to access by sailing around the Mediterranean Sea.

The power and influence of currents and tides are often overshadowed by the importance of the wind for sailing. The Mediterranean current, while it establishes an underlying rhythm of traveling, only provides one or two knots of power. In contrast, the wind patterns offer much more speed and power, upwards of thirty knots during fierce winds and storms, although five to eight knots was the average speed. In the Mediterranean, the individual winds have been given names, from the hot Sirocco that blast from the western Sahara, to the humid Mistral winds that blow across southern France from the Atlantic Bay of Biscay, and the icy Bora that gust down from the Alps onto the Adriatic. These winds determined sailing routes and times in the early medieval period; sailing would have begun when the gales of March and April had stopped and would have lasted until September. Out-of-season sailing was possible, just more dangerous, as is the case even today with the migrants and refugees on the Mediterranean.<sup>10</sup> Mediterranean sailors preferred to stay within sight of land, as both the currents and the winds were more predictable in the right season. Travelers and sailors would have been aware of the power of the currents and the winds that constrained travel on the Mediterranean both in and out of season.

For the medieval traveler, the power of nature complemented the power of the supernatural, that of God and the relics of the saints, much as for the medieval audience, there was not a sharp distinction between hagiography and history, that is, between didactic fiction and non-fiction. In Gregory of Tours's *Glory of the Martyrs*, the salvation of a ship and her crew upon rough waters was both a natural and supernatural phenomenon, as can be seen in a travel account of from one of Gregory's deacons about his return from a relic-gathering trip in Rome, sailing to Marseilles:

After he boarded a ship [at Ostia], the sails were unfurled and raised over the yardarm that was shaped like a cross. With the wind blowing, they set out into the deep sea. While they were sailing to get to the port of Marseilles, they began to approach a certain place where a mountain of stone rose from the shore of the sea, and, sinking a bit, stretched into the sea to the top of the water. With the wind forcing them onwards, the ship was thrown headlong with great force, so that it was quite battered about as though struck by a rock. The sailors recognized the crisis and cried out that they would die. The deacon lifted the reliquary with the holy relics. He groaned and in a loud voice began to invoke the names of the individual saints, praying that their power might free them from the danger of death. The ship, as I said, sailed closer and closer to the rock. Suddenly, out of respect for the relics, a wind blew from that spot with great force against the other wind. It crushed the waves and repulsed the opposing wind. By recalling the ship to the deep sea, the wind freed everyone from the danger of death.<sup>11</sup>

The journey between Rome and Marseilles was usually an easy one; it followed the counter-clockwise inshore current north of Corsica and sailors were never out of sight of land. However, it was the winds in the Mediterranean that would make or break a journey. Even as the author attributed the ship's recovery to the power of the saints, the saints showed that power through the wind, which was the real-world demonstration of the power of God. The cross-wind that returned the ship to the deep sea and away from the rocks was a practical meteorological phenomenon, but one that reflected the unity of the natural and the supernatural world for the medieval person. The use of the wind as the engine of both nature's wrath and God's deliverance was significant because the winds, like the currents, are part of the climate in the real world, but also felt ephemeral. Like the power of God, the wind is felt rather than seen, a powerful force that is nevertheless invisible.

The impact of geography is only one aspect of the deacon's journey between Rome and Marseilles. While the deacon with his relics was the only passenger mentioned on this ship, presumably the sailors who recognized their peril had other motives for sailing between Italy and Francia; perhaps it was, in fact, a passenger boat, or perhaps it was a merchant vessel that happened to take on a passenger. It is important to remember that the hagiographical accounts of travel reflect their authors' personal biases toward the religious and the miraculous. It is impossible to know the motivations of the sailors in the above text, but travel was a heterogeneous process; individuals might travel for multiple reasons, and those traveling together on a ship might have a multiplicity of motivations. Beyond the possible economic motives for the sailors' journey, the relics established a concrete relationship between the author, Gregory of Tours, his bishopric at Tours (represented by his deacon), and the papacy. The relics were not simply "gathered" but rather gifted to Gregory by Pope Pelagius II.<sup>12</sup> The network between Pope Pelagius and



Gregory of Tours was based on their spiritual relationship as members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The pope's gift of relics enabled the deacon and the ship's crew to be saved on their very practical sea voyage from Italy to Francia.

While Tours did have a relationship with Rome, Gregory himself was mostly uninterested in the specific exercises of power by the bishop of Rome, and rather more interested in episcopal authority in general. Episcopal continuity with Rome linked the bishops of the church to Peter, and thus to Christ, but it was the union with Christ that was the ultimate goal, not unity with the bishop of Rome himself.<sup>13</sup> Gregory discussed the common belief in the seven evangelizing bishops who were said to have come from Rome to Gaul in the mid-third century in the *Histories*. He sprinkled these seven saints' biographies, which detailed their travel from Rome to the major cities of Roman Gaul, throughout the hagiographical collections.<sup>14</sup> For Gregory, the line between the history of the church and the hagiographies of its most important holy men was blurred. According to Gregory, these saints all traveled at the behest of "Roman bishops" to become missionaries in Gaul. Travel in this instance was a function of the foundation legends of the Gallic church, connecting them with Rome and with one another. This perception of geographical connection was mediated through the saints and the people who venerated them (including the hagiographer himself), even if the stories about the evangelization of Gaul were not factually accurate. Instead, Gregory's inclusion of this material displays the sixth-century perception of the connections and heritage between the Gallic church and Rome.

The role of the episcopal hierarchy, the papacy, and even Rome itself is secondary within the narrative. It is the relics and the wind that have the shared central role in saving the ship. For Gregory and his audience, there was no disconnect between the natural and supernatural world, as medieval scientific thought about the earth they observed mirrored their theological ideas about the nature of God's creation. Instead, the practical aspects of travel, such as the direction of the wind, were intimately connected with the miraculous deliverance of the travelers when even the experienced sailors had panicked and declared that everyone was about to die. Their cognitive map of the world saw not just the winds pushing them back out to sea, but also the reason for it: the intercession of the saints. For the early medieval audience, this earthly connectivity was part and parcel of heavenly connectivity; God and his saints saved these individuals from perils of travel and nature through their holy mortal remains.

Another religious traveler, at times pilgrim, missionary and holy wanderer, Amandus of Maastricht (584–675), visited the tombs of the martyrs and Rome, leaving Italy via the port of Centum Cellae (now Civitavecchia) on a ship bound for Francia. The journey west was eventful, with the sailors catching a huge fish and feasting on board. However, during the feast, a storm arose, and the sailors threw everything overboard, from provisions to tackle, to lighten the ship's load and make it to port safely. These measures did not work, and the sailors gave up; however, Amandus received a vision of

St. Peter who comforted the holy man by saying that he and those on board would not perish in the storm.<sup>15</sup> Amandus' journey has the details of the practicalities of such an event, such as throwing everything including their food overboard in hopes of saving the ship and the lives of the people on board. In other hagiographical stories, it is God and his saints who save the ship, but in the *Life of Amandus*, the storm merely blew itself out, and the ship limped into the harbor by the grace of God and variable weather. The vision was merely to reassure the saint of his ordained deliverance, rather than the saintly subject (or relics he carried) actually performing a miracle.

In contrast to Mediterranean sea travel, the winds for sailing the Atlantic Ocean were more variable, with frequent onshore winds posing a hazard to ships that stayed too close to shore. Experienced Atlantic sailors avoided this by staying well out to sea, unlike the Mediterranean sailors. However, in an era of rudimentary navigational tools, sailing away from the shore required both skill and intimate knowledge of local conditions.<sup>16</sup> Even so, the headlands and islands around Brittany were often sites of unpredictability, as recovered shipwrecks can attest.<sup>17</sup> Navigating around the Breton peninsula was difficult but necessary, as it marked the gateway into the zone of maritime activity and traffic for the northwestern Atlantic. To access the North Sea from the Atlantic after rounding Brittany, two routes were available. First was St. George's Channel between Britain and Ireland that led north to the Irish Sea and the Scottish islands and eventually out into the far northern Atlantic and the North Sea. The second was the English Channel, which led directly into the expanse of the North Sea. Jonas of Bobbio's *Life of Columbanus* (written ca. 642/3) describes the journey from Ireland to Brittany:

Knowing that the spirit of the all-merciful Judge was with them, they embark in a boat and set out through the straits into the uncertain seelanes and the calm high seas. With fair winds blowing, they quickly reach inlets on the coast of Brittany.<sup>18</sup>

In contrast to the difficult journey described by Gregory between Rome and Marseilles, Columbanus' trip across the Channel was easy. This is a reversal of the normal circumstances of such journeys – Rome to Marseilles was usually easy, and the Irish Sea crossing could be arduous. The unusual nature of the respective trips emphasized the role that God and his saints played in controlling and helping travelers for the hagiographical audience. The power of traveling holy men was reflected in the power those saints had over whether the journey was easy or difficult.

Saints often performed miracles in which they prayed to God to calm storms while they were on sea voyages. Storms and bad weather were obviously a strong deterrent to travel, particularly during winter or in areas that were seen as having particularly rough seas, such as the Irish Sea or the North Channel between Ireland and Scotland. One saint and his companions made this particular voyage many times: Columba of Iona (521–597).

Columba was the founder of the monastery of Iona, in the territory of the Dál Riata in Scotland.<sup>19</sup> His saint's life demonstrates his continuing connection with his Irish homeland, as well as the new networks that Iona maintained with neighboring regions Northumbria and Francia in the seventh century. Adomnán's *Life of Columba* (written soon after the death of the saint ca. 600) is also full of tales of the sea and miracles associated with crossing it, particularly those related to traveling to Iona. When a holy bishop sought to visit Columba there, Adomnán related that:

Columba, son of Beognai, having set sail to us, is now in great danger in the seething waves of *Carybdis Breca* [Corryvreckan Whirlpool]. Sitting in the prow, he lifts up both palms to heaven and blesses the turbulent and formidable sea. The Lord terrifies him this way, not so that the ship in which he sails should be overwhelmed by shipwreck in the waves, but rather to encourage him to pray more fervently, so that, after sailing through danger, he may reach us here with God's favor.<sup>20</sup>

This whirlpool is located near Rathlin Island directly off the northern coast of Ireland.<sup>21</sup> There, tides and counter-tides create a swirling of water at the west end of the island; the area is now known as Slough-na-more, and it is still a dangerous area for sailors.<sup>22</sup> Adomnán's description of the maritime phenomenon again gives us a practical view of the dangers facing travelers going between northern Ireland and western Scotland. While the historical sources portray this as a typical journey, both the author and the local audience of the *Life of Columba* knew the risks of taking the journey at the wrong turn of the tide. The perils of the trip were not subject solely to the skill of the sailors or even to the will of God himself, but to God's desire to scare the holy man into more fervent prayer. The purpose of telling such stories about the saints was to teach the audience lessons about the power of God in the natural world, demonstrate the power of prayer, and to impart these messages to the audience and community in a way that would engage them. In such a context, the practical and experiential understanding of travel combined with a supernatural and divine belief in the ultimate power of God. Faced with a whirlpool while sailing in a dugout boat or skin-covered curragh, this is not a naïve or silly way to perceive the world.

### Ship technology

The routes that were dictated by the currents, winds, or river portages, described in the texts, needed to be both plausible to give the didactic stories of saints credibility. Beyond these routes, early medieval people (building on the knowledge of the Romans) used a variety of ships to travel on sea and rivers. While it is a truism that early medieval technology was not as advanced as that of the ancient Romans, in both the archaeological and historical record that this statement needs qualification. Early medieval

kingdoms and communities did not have access to the large network of resources that the Roman empire did, but their limitations also allowed for improvements based on scarcity. These included using wooden nails in ships, which avoided the problem of rust, a crucial development for the ocean vessels that would one day cross the Atlantic in the sixteenth century.<sup>23</sup> The adoption of the sail (in addition to the oar) for sea-going vessels relatively late (ca. 750) for northern European vessels was part of a strong social and cognitive conservatism.<sup>24</sup> The design of ships and sails depended upon the materials available, especially the large-scale production of wool, the primary material of sailcloth in northern Europe.<sup>25</sup> The adoption of sails had significant implications for the costs of producing a vessel and for the skill of the craftspeople who built the boats, with clear regional and micro-regional variation. Adopting the sail was not just a function of technological or material improvements, but was part of the changing social and cultural ideas about water-transport in the early Middle Ages. For instance, the rowing crew was an active body of men, with control of their speed directly connected to the rowers' efforts. In contrast, on a sailing ship, the crew was less active, and the sailors were dependent upon fickle winds and the grace of God to make it to their destinations. The mental role of the sailing ship, with its billowing sails announcing the presence of raiders, merchants, and missionaries alike, was a symbol the power of both man and God, and of the social changes at work in early medieval societies as long-distance travel became more ubiquitous.

In the early medieval period, ships were built based on one of three significant shipbuilding traditions in Europe, which differed significantly in their construction methods. The first major shipbuilding tradition was not homogenous but consisted of ships from across central and western Europe that developed from dugouts, with solid and inflexible hulls. Dugouts served as bases for some large and sophisticated ship constructions throughout the Middle Ages, but small dugouts were built continuously for many purposes, including fishing boats, ferries, supports for floating water mills, and cargo vessels, especially on rivers (less so on the open water). The most common way to make a boat on a dugout base was to collect several small boats and fasten them together with the aid of crossbeams or planking, creating a platform. Many ferries were constructed this way to take horse carts and cattle from one side of a river to another. More sophisticated ships with dugout bases often split the dugout longitudinally and put planking (strakes) between them, creating a boat with a flat bottom and no keel, a kind of barge that was used in rivers, lakes, and shallow tidal waters along the shore.<sup>26</sup> On the open seas, the boats of this type of construction were heavier without an angled midsection (*chine*) – sailors often preferred to sail in boats with smooth cross-sections to prevent hard rocking in the waves.

Another version of this type of ship was the carvel construction that allowed for a smooth hull, which was built and used along the Atlantic coast of France and both sides of the English Channel. During the course of the early Middle Ages, shipwrights reduced the use of iron nails to a minimum,

using wooden nails instead. The dugout construction remained relatively constant over the entirety of the period, but regional variation was crucial, as local geographical circumstances dictated the shape of the vessels.

The second shipbuilding tradition is that of the Scandinavian ships, which had its roots in the early Bronze Age. The Scandinavian style of construction made its way to Anglo-Saxon England and Ireland by the fifth century and the rest of the northwestern Atlantic by 1000, an incremental advance over many centuries. The Viking longship was an innovation in shipbuilding, with its ability to both cross the open ocean and sail up rivers, which made it ideal for staging raids. The longship itself was so called because it could be built long relative to its width (often a 5:1 or 6:1 ratio). The ships were “clinker built,” meaning that they were constructed by laying the keel (central spine of a ship) and then assembling a shell out of slightly overlapping strakes, or planks, riveting the strakes together to create a strong, watertight hull with a shallow draught. These ships were characterized by hulls made from thin planking – strakes – that overlapped, held together with iron rivets through the overlap. The product was a gently curved hull that resulted in a light and flexible boat that was seaworthy on both oceans and rivers.<sup>27</sup> The ships had a single mast with a square sail, as well as oars and rowing benches for another means of propulsion. The ships were conceived and constructed by eye and rule of thumb, without written blueprints, using mental templates that relied on individual and collective memory as cognitive tools.<sup>28</sup> Scandinavians built their ships with relatively simple tools; they felled trees with long-handled axes and split the trunks with wedges driven in with hammers and mallets. The planks were shaped from short-shafted T-shaped broad axes, and heat was used to bend the planks into shape to form the shell. Nothing is known of the measuring devices used, though scholars assume that marked strings or sticks were used. The clinker construction needed iron rivets, which require only simple smithing techniques, though the ships did have anchors as well, which were the largest and most advanced objects made by blacksmiths. Evidence about Viking longships has been considerably advanced in the past few decades with the development of the sub-discipline of maritime and underwater archaeology. The Skuldelev ships were the first Viking ships to be excavated underwater in Roskilde Fjord, Denmark in the early 1960s (now the site of the Viking Ship Museum, which also houses the longest Viking ship yet discovered, the 37-meter *Roskilde 6*).<sup>29</sup> However, there have been Viking ships found buried on land, most famously the Gokstad Ship which was found in a burial mound in Norway in 1880.<sup>30</sup> New technology has improved scholarly understanding of these ships immensely, including dendrochronological dating, which precisely dated the Gokstad ship to 895–900. Related to Viking ships was the cog – a type of vessel that began to be used in the early Middle Ages along the southern shores of the North Sea, particularly in Frisia.<sup>31</sup> The cog was a flat-bottomed boat with steep sides that rose from the base at nearly a right angle, with overlapping planking fastened with iron nails that were re-bent into the timber in a distinctive fashion. The

northern shipbuilding tradition was full of variety before the year 800; for instance, Adomnán recorded at least nine types of Irish ships in the *Life of Columba*.<sup>32</sup> He described the building of a longship within the text:

[Some] felled pine trees and oaks were dragged overland. Some were to be used in the making of a longship [*navis longa*] and besides the ships' timbers, there were also beams for a great house to be brought here to Iona... When our sailors had got everything ready and meant to take the boats and currachs and tow the timbers to the island by the sea, the wind...became favorable.<sup>33</sup>

The building of a longship was an endeavor that required both the right materials and the proper craftsmen to bring the project to fruition. Columba and his community needed both to maintain the necessary connections to the outside world that provided not only the practical material goods of exchange, such as food or giant logs but also the transfer of religious professionals, like the monks from Columba's other foundations in Ireland. The Irish longship was a ship of Scandinavian-style construction, but it coexisted with dugout boats, with regional variation based on local conditions and needs being the crucial factor of any shipbuilding endeavor.

The third tradition of shipbuilding was found in the Mediterranean. Unlike the northern boats, early medieval Mediterranean ships continued to be built following Roman patterns. This consisted mainly of the "mortise-and-tenon" construction, which kept the light, flush-laid planks (strakes) together so that the shell could be finished before the ribs were inserted. During the second half of the Middle Ages, this gave way to the caravel construction (which had been used on the open waters of the Bay of Biscay since pre-Roman times), in which the strakes were heavier and not fastened to each other, but rather to strong ribs. This heavier construction allowed the ships to sail the Atlantic, while the older Mediterranean ships could not.<sup>34</sup> The most striking difference between Mediterranean and Atlantic ships in the early Middle Ages were the sails; Roman cargo vessels already had two sails, square-rigged and lateen (triangular) ones. While there are fewer archaeological examples of Mediterranean ships from the early Middle Ages than there are from either antiquity or the later medieval Mediterranean, there have been excavations of at least nineteen ships from the western Mediterranean and at least twenty-seven from the eastern, including important Byzantine ships.<sup>35</sup> More recently has been the 2003–13 excavation of the Port of Theodosius, built during the reign of Emperor Theodosius, ca. 379–395, which served as Constantinople's major harbor during the early medieval period. Before 2004, scholars' only knowledge of the port on the Sea of Marmara came from scattered textual references, but workers found the archaeological remains of the silted-up harbor in the Yenikapı neighborhood in Istanbul while tunneling under the Bosphorus to create a rail link. There were thirty-seven ships excavated that dated from the fifth to the eleventh centuries, including cargo boats, transport vessels,

small lighters, fishing boats, and naval galleys. They have also found thousands of artifacts, including human remains, *amphorae* for holding wine and oil, stone tools, iron anchors, and items made of ivory, bronze, marble, porcelain, glass, and wood. On one ninth-century cargo ship, a basket of cherries was found, allowing the maritime archaeologists to date the ship's sinking to a summer storm in June or July, based the time of year cherries ripen.<sup>36</sup> Like the constancy of the physical constraints of water travel, early medieval ship technology demonstrated a continuity with the ancient world, with regional variation that depended on local conditions as well as the slow spread of Scandinavian shipbuilding techniques during a five-hundred-year period. While many medieval sources have fantastical and miraculous elements, the travel narratives are grounded in a plausible physical world of movement.

### New destinations: *wics*

One major geographical change in the early medieval period was the creation of new towns as both destinations and stopping places for travelers, the new "*wics*" of the North Sea region. The creation of these new towns as ports, centers of exchange, and places of production, was a real and important change in the organization of trade and spread of technology in the Atlantic and Baltic zones, as the abundant archaeological evidence has made clear.<sup>37</sup> However, in the textual sources, these *wics* are treated as mundane, the ordinary stopping point for travelers in the north Atlantic. Exploring the importance of the creation of new towns in the north Atlantic for the first time since the Roman period demonstrates the dynamism of the early medieval environment. Noting the sheer ordinariness of the actual medieval travelers' experience of these *wics* shows the mindset of these travelers as they moved from place to place in across Europe and the Mediterranean.

While water travel was dependent on geography and ship technology, it was also dependent upon the ports and destinations of travel, which is where the most significant changes occurred in the early Middle Ages. New ports and centers of power were partially dependent upon the geographic features of the land, such as a natural harbor or the convergence of two rivers, but other times these nodes of connectivity were dependent upon the human capital available, such as skilled craftsmen or elites with disposable income and power. During the seventh century, new places of connection and exchange developed, such as Dorestad, near the mouth of the Rhine River, and Quentovic, near the mouth of the Canche River. In the sources, they are called *emporía*, *portus*, or *vici*, the latter from the Germanic word, spelled as both *wic* and *wik*. These settlements were situated on ethnic, political, and physical boundaries through which much early medieval trade was mediated.<sup>38</sup> Often they were located at the estuaries of great rivers, becoming entry points for travelers, merchants, diplomats, pilgrims, and missionaries, connecting people across the North, Baltic, and Irish Seas, as well as the English Channel. The excavation and analysis of *wics* have resulted in a transformation of our

understanding of the early medieval economy by presenting a picture of long-distance exchange systems, mediated through *wics* and the rulers who controlled them, linking Continental Europe with England and northern Scandinavia as well as eastern Europe and the Middle East. While these long-distance exchange systems are valuable for understanding the reach of early medieval traders, material from this long-distance trade represents only a small fraction of the total archaeological assemblages and new analysis is underway to examine the way that local and regional systems of exchange of both goods and ideas interacted with these long-distance encounters.<sup>39</sup> Since these sites were trading centers, we are unlikely to find evidence for most of the objects that passed through there, such as weapons and precious ornaments, which may well have shipped through these *wics*, but they ended their journeys at some other place. While scholars disagree on whether these new *wics* were spontaneous creations or royal foundations, both historical and archaeological sources confirm that kings took advantage of them by charging customs duties and building mints (likely for recasting foreign currency that had come in from long-distance trade). The *wics* themselves had good harbors surrounded by an industrial zone populated with craftsmen and artisans. Beyond this industrial zone was an agricultural and market gardening zone, likely supplying merchants for their journeys as well as supporting the local population.

For the most part, these *wics* were not occupied longer than 100 years or so, as they were natural targets for pirates and invaders. They were nodes in long-distance travel networks and trading systems, but they were also economic, political, and social centers of their own, playing a role in local development as well as inter-regional connectivity. For example, one of these *wics*, Dorestad, was located on the Rhine delta, situated at the point where, in the eighth century, the Lower Rhine and the Lek Rivers diverged; it became a focal point of a major riparian communication and travel network.<sup>40</sup> Trade seems to have been a primary function of the site, with large numbers of wine barrels found from regions to the south and east, as well as many fragments of millstones and pottery from Mayen (near modern Koblenz, Germany), nearly 200 miles up the Rhine.<sup>41</sup> Mayen had quarries and centers of production for pottery since the late Roman period. Mayen ware pottery was produced in the Eifel region (around the town) primarily during the third and fourth centuries, but production of pottery continued through the Merovingian and Carolingian periods. It was widely distributed in northeastern Gaul, the lower Rhine region, and southeastern Britain (primarily Kent and East Anglia). Dorestad, along with Danish *wics* at Hedeby and Ribe and the Swedish *wics* on Lake Mälaren (Hölgö and Birka) were essential stopping points on the long trade and missionary route that developed at the end of the eighth century.<sup>42</sup> Unlike Dorestad and many other *wic* sites that were found in the nineteenth century, in 1985 archaeologists discovered the location of the *wic* of Quentovic on the Canche River (near modern Montreuil-sur-Mer), which had been known only from historical sources and coin



finds.<sup>43</sup> According to *Life of Wilfrid*, Wilfrid avoided Quentovic to escape attacks from mercenaries paid for by his Northumbria and Frankish enemies.<sup>44</sup> The eighth-century *Life of Boniface* mentions Quentovic as one of the saint's stopping places, his first Continental port when traveling from London on his way to Rome.<sup>45</sup> The hagiographer described a safe Channel crossing with a "stiff following breeze" that deposited the saint at Cuentwick (the Anglo-Saxon version of the *wic*'s name). On the bank of the Canche, the saint and his companions set up a camp to wait for the remainder of the party that would journey with them to Rome. Quentovic was a significant port for both religious and secular travelers in the late seventh and eighth centuries who were moving from the British Isles to a variety of continental destinations, including Rome.

Beyond the boundaries of the *wic* itself, Quentovic was surrounded by a network of small monasteries that Jinty Nelson has called its "stakeholders," that is, religious institutions that held land near or actually in the *wic*, benefitting from trade passing through it.<sup>46</sup> One stakeholder was the monastery of St-Josse, a dependency of another monastery named Ferrières, which the famous Anglo-Saxon scholar, courtier, and traveler Alcuin (735–804) held as a benefice from Charlemagne (742–814). Alcuin used it as a hostel for friends and colleagues traveling to and from England, such as the archbishop of Canterbury, who stayed there in 801 on his way to Rome.<sup>47</sup> To St-Josse, one might add a list of other stakeholder monasteries, including St-Vaast, Arras, St-Riquier, Ferrières itself, St-Germain-des-Près, St-Wandrille, and St-Bertin, all attested to in snippets of documentary evidence between 770 and 850 as holding a place in the network of exchanges and communications that centered on Quentovic. Other Anglo-Saxons besides Alcuin settled or had land near the *wic*; two little farms belonging to St-Bertin were in the hands of men named Saxger and Alfward, the latter described as "*illo Saxo*" in a ninth-century polyptych.<sup>48</sup> The role that these monasteries must have played in mercantile exchange is exemplified in some of the surviving letters of a later Carolingian courtier, Lupus of Ferrières (805–862). Charlemagne's grandson and successor as king of the western part of Francia, Charles the Bald, took St-Josse away from Ferrières and gave it to a lay aristocrat in 842; in 845 Lupus wrote to the king to complain about the consequences of the loss of St-Josse for the monks further inland:

The servants of God, who assiduously pray for you, for three years now have not received their accustomed clothing, and so what they are forced to wear are garments worn and darned in many places; and they have to live on bought vegetables and very seldom have the consolation of fish and cheese.<sup>49</sup>

The commodities that Lupus mentions are ones that leave no trace in the archaeological record, clothing and food, not potsherds or metal luxury items. Lupus' many letters are a testament not just to his efforts to recover St-

Josse, which he eventually succeeded in doing, but also to the small monastery's importance within the network of cross-Channel economic and religious exchange that surrounded Quentovic in the eighth and ninth centuries. Quentovic also appears as a place of importance in the miracles of Wandregisel, founder of Fontenelle Abbey, about thirty miles up the Seine from the Channel. Quentovic was around 200 miles north of Fontenelle Abbey. In one miracle story, a man named Grippo, called the prefect of the *wic* of Quentovic in the text, prayed for the intercession of the abbots of Fontenelle, Wandregisel and his successor Ansbert, during a rough sea voyage across the Channel.<sup>50</sup> Grippo had been chosen as a legate by Charlemagne, traveling to Britain to meet with Anglo-Saxon kings, when his ship ran into bad weather. The practical importance of the trading center is evident from the social importance of Grippo and his political mission to the Anglo-Saxons, but in the hagiographical texts, the practical connections between places are augmented by the cultural connectivity of the posthumous miracles of the two Neustrian saints.

Sailing the open seas, whether in the Atlantic or the Mediterranean, involved considerable dangers from weather, rocks, and whirlpools to pirates and plunderers, although it also had considerable benefits, especially in terms of commercial costs. The estimated cost ratios between sea and land transport in Late Antiquity were 1:28, making land transport at least twenty-eight times more expensive than travel on the ocean.<sup>51</sup> Even using inland waterways produced significant cost savings, with the ratio between ocean and river transport at only 1:5; using rivers and other inland waterways provided significant savings for transporting goods and people. The individual financial risks would have been higher for early medieval travelers than those assumed by people traveling within the confines of the massive Roman command economy. The Roman state was "self-insured," so-to-speak, and while keeping costs low was an issue for late antique Roman travelers, making a profit was not. While not a barrier to travel in the same way as a storm or a mountain range, transport costs were another "real" barrier for early medieval travelers. Costs, just as much as geography, might determine the routes a traveler might take, no matter his reason for travel, commercial or religious. While hagiography does not speak to the profit-motive for travel the way other sources might, religious travelers are often seen paying sailors for passage on their ships, purchasing goods while journeying, or bribing local officials to allow them to continue their journey. While these quasi-fictional accounts cannot be taken as quantitative evidence, the fact that coins and costs often play secondary roles in the narratives show how these texts are rooted firmly for both their authors and audiences in a "real-and-imagined" landscape. Saints had to deal with the mundane realities and obstacles to movement as well as the transcendent journeys and holy connections to distant places.

Even when the sources do not speak directly of the difference in cost between water and land travel, the routes that the saints are said to have taken demonstrates that the oceans and rivers of Europe were central in the

movement of people, goods, and ideas in the period. The English Channel route to the North Sea provided access to the northern Frankish and Frisian coastlines, and most importantly, the mouths of important European rivers that allowed travelers to voyage inland along the Rhine, Meuse, and Scheldt as well as further north, traveling along the Ems, Weser, and Elbe.<sup>52</sup> The river traffic took travelers and goods into the hinterland. It also allowed people to cut out difficult portions of ocean voyages. One instance of this type of travel is the Garonne-Gironde River trip in Aquitaine that connected the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. Sailing these rivers allowed travelers to the Mediterranean from the Atlantic to avoid the perilous trip around the Iberian Peninsula and through the Straits of Gibraltar. One example of the potential importance of this cut-off is the story of Arculf from Adomnán of Iona's *De Locis Sanctis* ("On the Holy Places") written ca. 698. Arculf was said to be a Frankish bishop and Atlantic-Mediterranean traveler who was shipwrecked near the monastery of Iona, on the western coast of Scotland. Adomnán's description of Arculf's shipwreck in Britain was likely to have come from problems sailing on the Bay of Biscay after taking the Garonne cut-off, rather than being blown off course from Gibraltar.<sup>53</sup> While there has been a considerable debate over whether Arculf was an actual historical person, in the case of the description of the route between the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, the narrative represents real possibilities for connection between those places. There were significant communities of Jewish and Byzantine merchants at the diocesan centers along the Garonne River cut-off between Bordeaux and the Mediterranean. Byzantine coins from the eighth and ninth centuries have been found there, and travelers preferred the Garonne shortcut to avoid the treacherous journey around Gibraltar.<sup>54</sup> Anglo-Saxon, Irish, and Frisian seaborne merchants traded along this coast in the seventh and eighth centuries as part of the Atlantic salt trade.<sup>55</sup> Exchange relations between Anglo-Saxons, Scandinavians, and those in the Bordeaux region are further evidenced by a coin-horde from a ninth-century Rhine-Meuse delta with a significant number of Aquitainian-minted coins. These relations are mirrored by the excavation of a river-landing place at Taillebourg, where archaeologists recovered six swords of Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian origin, twenty spear-heads, ten axe-heads, and various other metal and ceramic finds dated to between the seventh and tenth centuries.<sup>56</sup> For the audience of Adomnán's *De Locis Sanctis*, Arculf (whether he was entirely fictional, a composite of several travelers, or a real individual) represented not only these physical trading connections between Britain and Aquitaine. He also represented the spiritual and religious connections to the wider Christian world of Francia and the Mediterranean that such a religious traveler embodied.

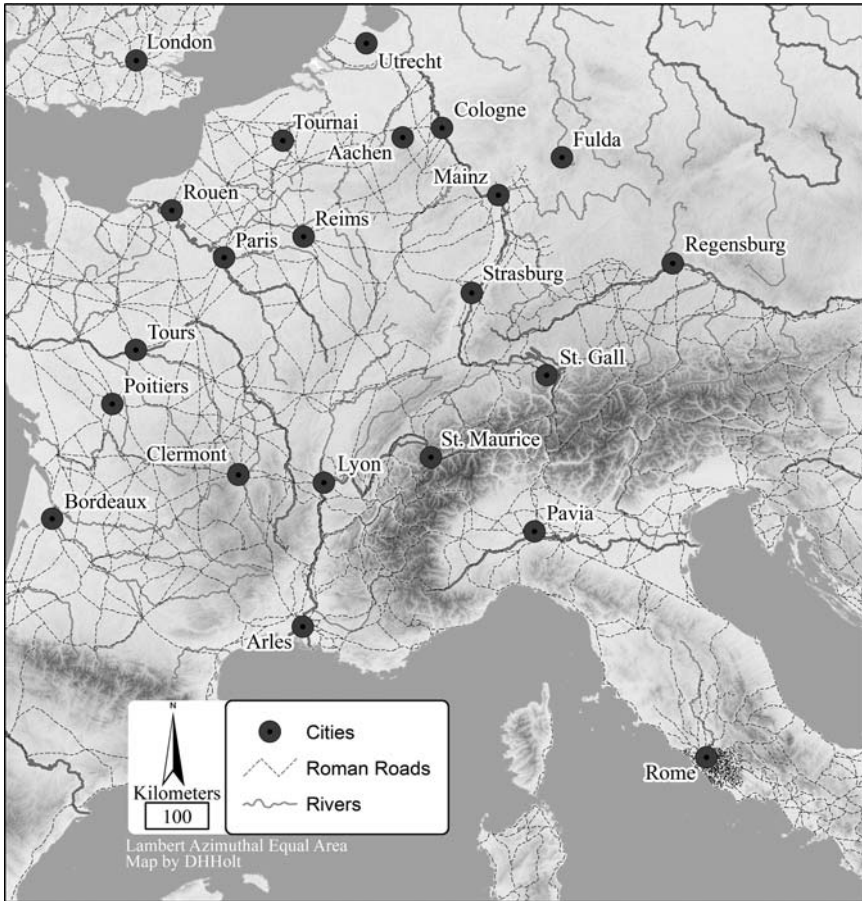
Another witness to trade and travel between the Mediterranean, the Atlantic, and Britain has been found by archaeologists in the form of pottery. Mediterranean pottery such as African Red Slip ware (ARS-ware) and African *amphorae* continued to reach Bordeaux until the seventh century.<sup>57</sup> Conversely, Aquitaine made fine- and common-ware pottery throughout the

period, called “DSP-ware”, and exported this local DSP-ware to the Provençal, Languedoc, and Spanish regions primarily in the sixth and seventh centuries.<sup>58</sup> By the seventh century, a new “E-ware” pottery was being produced near Poitou and being exported from Aquitaine north to Britain and Ireland.<sup>59</sup> This distribution of pottery and coins demonstrates that the route between the Mediterranean and Bordeaux via the Garonne was standard, even though it is not well documented in the textual sources. This evidence from archaeology suggests that the region of southern Gaul connected the new and developing power centers of the north with the old and established cities of the Mediterranean. The production and distribution of each of these collections of pottery demonstrate the trend northwards of power and production centers during Late Antiquity, and the early Middle Ages, from North African produced ARS-ware to Languedocian DSP-ware and finally to the Poitevin E-ware.

Physical objects, including pottery, coins, swords, and shipwrecks, show how and where these early medieval seafarers traveled, demonstrating the very real connections between distant places, which is the bedrock upon which any analysis of religious travelers must be built. Many people were indeed moving from place to place, with their coins and their swords, their wool and their salt. People do not just bring their goods with them on their journeys though; they bring their ideas, and textual sources give us a view of why early medieval people traveled, and why they venerated those saints who moved for religious reasons during the early Middle Ages. The charisma of distant places was a powerful imaginative and real force for early medieval authors and audiences.

### **Roads and the remnants of Rome**

Sea travel, both in the historical and material sources was a critical method of movement for early medieval voyagers. However, while sea travel has both its glamour (as evidenced by sailors’ wild “heia!” in the *celeuma*, or rowing-song with which this book began) and its practicality (as represented by the significant cost savings of transporting goods via water routes), overland travel was also important to networks of connectivity. Study of the post-Roman medieval road networks is hampered by a lack of good archaeological, documentary, and cartographic evidence.<sup>60</sup> This has led to misunderstandings about medieval roads and travel, notably that roads were poor and travel difficult; while more recent study is needed, it is clear that roads were mostly adequate for the traffic, even in inclement weather.<sup>61</sup> People continued to use the Roman roads, as evidenced not just by documentary sources, but the fact that many Roman roads are still in use today, buried under modern asphalt.<sup>62</sup> Indeed, roads are human-caused features of the landscape that are remarkably fixed once created and in use.<sup>63</sup> Roman roads were built to facilitate the transport of military troops and imperial administrators, and although even in the ancient period, the roads were used for economic reasons as well, they were not designed to connect markets or trading centers.<sup>64</sup>



Map 1.1 Roman roads and riverways.  
Source: David H. Holt.

In addition to the important trunk routes built by the imperial government, local cities often constructed and maintained secondary and tertiary roads within their districts, which were high quality, though they were paved (or left unpaved) in various ways depending on local needs. In Gaul, these local roads covered more than three times the total distance of the great trunk roads.<sup>65</sup> Beyond these official roads, there was also a network of tracks and trails that came into existence through the habitual passage of traffic; more of a right-of-way than a strip of land of fixed width. These have been identified in early medieval documents, and many of them dated to pre-Roman times.<sup>66</sup>

There are some fundamental problems to the study of medieval roads in both textual and archaeological evidence. For the material evidence, archaeologists have

struggled with the fact that roads that were not engineered or surfaced tended to either disappear from the landscape or be buried under modern roads. There is also an inherent difficulty to ascribing a date to a track found via aerial photography or place-name studies. For textual evidence, many of the original manuscripts about Roman transport have not survived to the modern period. These textual *itineraria* were ubiquitous in the Roman world, often including distances along roads from one place to another for government or military officials or civilians on pilgrimages or commercial ventures. There are three major reasons for the itineraries' poor survival.<sup>67</sup> First, the texts were time and purpose conditioned; that is, a pilgrim who had finished his journey no longer had any use for the text, much the same way a modern person might throw out or pass along a well-thumbed Lonely Planet guidebook. Second, and more important, these documents were frequently written on papyrus, which wears poorly when frequently consulted or folded, as might have been the case with a travel map. Third, papyrus does not survive well in damp conditions, such as those in Gaul and northwestern Europe. There are some medieval copies of itineraries. More than twenty manuscripts of the Antonine Itinerary survive, a text which could be as early as the first century, but is far more likely to be from the fourth century. Another source is the Peutinger Map from the late antique or early medieval period.<sup>68</sup> Just because few Roman itineraries have survived to modern times does not mean that they did not survive into the early medieval period; ninth-century scribes had both the expertise and resources to produce work based on Roman itinerary lists that were available at the Carolingian court or monasteries connected with the court.<sup>69</sup> Early medieval people had access to geographical materials about land transport that are unrecoverable today. While one must be hesitant about making any arguments from silence, it is not a stretch of the historical imagination to assume that early medieval people had geographical knowledge inherited from the Roman world via lost texts.

Turning from texts (and their loss) to archaeological evidence again, for the entirety of the period 500–850, the road network seems to have been repaired and maintained, as exemplified by the survival of Roman *milliaria* – mile-markers – along the roads, both in texts and in the ground. Sixth century authors Gregory of Tours (538–594) and Venantius Fortunatus (530–609) could both measure the distances between neighboring cities using Roman miles,<sup>70</sup> as could the author of the *Annals of St-Bertin*, written around 840.<sup>71</sup> However, as early as the late fifth century, Gallo-Roman aristocrat Sidonius Apollinaris (d. 489) indicated that the mile-markers themselves were worn down and turned green with age.<sup>72</sup> There have been excavations and inventories of surviving Roman *milliaria*; for instance, eighty-one mile-markers survive from the Roman trunk road, the *Via Domitia* in southern Gaul between the Rhône delta and the eastern Pyrenees.<sup>73</sup> More than 10,000 *milliaria* from across the Roman Empire had been identified and cataloged, along with their inscriptions in Greek and Latin.<sup>74</sup> These inscriptions provided valuable information to travelers, including distances between official government stopping places for travelers (*mansiones*) and installations for the change of horses

(*mutationes*), which was part of the physical infrastructure of the *cursus publicus*, the Roman state transport service that provided food, lodging, and fresh animals for traveling officials of the empire.<sup>75</sup>

The *cursus publicus* as an administrative function of the public road network was still in evidence in the early medieval period. In the winter of 467–8, Sidonius Apollinaris described his journey from Lyon to Rome on the public roads as a *cursus publicus*. The roads were maintained well enough that he crossed the Alps:

easily and without delay; although formidable precipices rose on either side, the snow was hollowed into a track, and the way thus smoothed before me. Such rivers, too, as could not be crossed in boats, had convenient fords or traversable bridges with covered arches.<sup>76</sup>

Sidonius' observations about the ease of travel on the *cursus publicus* were not particularly dependent on the institutions that surrounded travel, but rather the maintenance of the causeways and the availability of ferries and infrastructure, such as bridges. While dating roads and their development and maintenance can be difficult, the archaeological study of bridges can be more fruitful when it comes to dating through the use of dendrochronology. This work comes with its own problems, namely the question of what might have happened first, the road or the bridge. It is likely though that most bridges were built in response to a need for a stable river crossing on an established road or track rather than a bridge being built to direct traffic in a particular manner. Despite this limitation, the dendrochronological dating of bridge piles has revealed the long-term continuities of particular roads. For instance, at Lyon, scholars had textual evidence that the Pont Guillotière had crossed the Rhône River (slightly upstream from its confluence with Saône) since the early fourteenth century. Archaeologists, taking 700 cross-sections of tree-rings from the more than 4,000 timber piles, determined that there had been a bridge there from at least as early as 964.<sup>77</sup>

For road networks, hagiographical narratives about saintly travels can provide supplementary textual evidence when other witnesses from material culture are unavailable. For instance, during the procession that took Bishop Dado's remains from the royal palace where he died back to his diocese in Rouen (ca. 686), a hagiographer described the roads and conditions of travel for the body and its attendants. During the journey, the relics performed miracles and healings. The hagiographer related that:

On the aforesaid property of the men, that is to say, on the paved public road, which lies next to Rouen and leads to the town, a wooden cross was erected where the body of the holy and venerable pontiff paused.<sup>78</sup>

The Roman road between Paris and Rouen still survives (now the Chaussée Jules César); it was built in the first century. The *Life of Ansbert* described the road as the "via publica ac delapidata." *Delapidata* here is a false cognate, not implying

a road that had lost its paving stones, but rather a public road that was made conspicuous by its stones.<sup>79</sup>

In addition to providing a view of the practicalities of travel, occasionally the texts show a glimpse of the difficulties of maintaining the Roman road network. They also provided a picture of how the medieval traveler saw the world, as when Gregory of Tours described a miracle that Martin of Tours was said to have performed.

In Neuillé-le-Lierre, a village in the territory of Tours, there was a tree, which fell over during a strong wind and blocked the public road. When the blessed Martin was traveling on this road, he noted that the way was blocked by this fallen tree. Feeling mercy, he made the sign of the cross over the tree and raised it up. Still today this tree is seen to stand up straight next to the road. But even though it is dead because it has been stripped of its bark, nevertheless it lives to the honor of this man of God. Many people have faithfully scraped at its bark, and after they have taken and dissolved the bark in water, soon they received a medicine. I myself have seen this tree standing tall.<sup>80</sup>

Several practical issues emerge from Gregory's description. First, because of the use that the Roman roads received for centuries after their creation, these tracks must have needed regular maintenance by local communities. When trees fell across the roadways, it must have been the responsibility of landowners or local elites, whether secular or ecclesiastical, to clear them. While Martin removed the tree from the road with a miracle and supposedly stood it up next to the way again, within this miracle, we should see an echo of the medieval traveler's cognitive geography. Landmarks are a crucial feature of how human beings navigate their environment, and the giant dead tree by the side of the road near Tours must have served as both an important geographical marker and a marker of Martin's influence on the region. The medicinal properties of the tree can also be seen in this duality of supernatural and natural phenomena. Locations associated with saints (as well as their relics) are often described in the lives of the saints as healing the sick. Scraping the bark off the tree could have been a medically sound option (depending on the tree, but many native European trees have healing properties – willow bark is a pain reliever and alder bark is a laxative, to name just two). Even if the bark was not actually medicinal, the placebo effect is powerful. The practicalities of travel and connectivity are evident in Gregory's narrative, especially when combined with a knowledge of how people organized their mental maps of the world, from landmarks on the side of the road to the best places to secure medicine or healing.

In addition to the problems that travelers might have had with the meteorological phenomena that affected movements or routes, there was always the issue of simple bad weather and an individual's desire to avoid traveling in it. In *Glory of the Confessors*, Gregory has two chapters on the deeds of bishop Eufronius, one of Gregory's episcopal predecessors. A man sought the bishop's blessing on an oratory dedicated to two holy virgins, however:



Eufronius was wearied by old age and excused himself from going [to the oratory]; he said: "My son, you see that I am an old man and that a winter that is more harsh than usual bothers me. Rains are falling, the winds are blowing everything in a whirl, rivers are high, and the roads are soaked from frequent rains and almost turned into mud. It is not now appropriate for my old age to undertake these journeys."<sup>81</sup>

Eufronius's objections to travel based on its hardship are timeless; no matter whether one has a horse-drawn cart or modern transportation, a muddy dirt road is not easy to traverse.<sup>82</sup> In a second anecdote, Eufronius avoided traveling the road from Tours to Paris to see the Merovingian king Charibert because he had a vision of the king's death. The saint ordered the horses unsaddled, and the wagons unloaded; Eufronius' servants were convinced he was joking, but he said that the king had just died and that it would be pointless to visit him. Later that day, men from Paris arrived to say that the king had died the very hour that Eufronius had ordered the journey canceled.<sup>83</sup> The miracle of Eufronius's knowledge of the king's death sits amongst the practical details of a winter journey along the Roman road to Paris. While not a long journey (Gregory said that the king's messenger handled it easily enough), this anecdote about the inconveniences of travel by an old bishop is both a real workaday account of sixth-century travel, with a bad rainstorm and muddy roads, and an imagined phenomenon that showed the holy power of the subject of the saint's life.

The dangers of travel were posed not only by the weather. The sources bear witness to the problems that pirates, robbers, and thieves might give a traveler, whether on land or sea.

Based on these sources, overland travelers were more at risk from dangerous people than were those who traveled by sea. There were certainly pirates that preyed upon sailing vessels; the early ninth-century *Life of Anskar* relates that saint's encounter in with pirates in the North Sea while journeying between the Continent and Birka to evangelize the Swedes.

While they were in the midst of their journey, they encountered pirates. The merchants who they traveled with defended themselves vigorously and indeed at first began to win, eventually they were defeated and overcome by the pirates, who took their ships and all that they had from them, and they barely escaped, fleeing on foot to land. They lost here the royal gifts which they were responsible for delivering there and everything else they had, except for what little they could take and carry with them rushing off the ship. Among the things they had stolen from them were nearly forty books, which they had collected for the service of God. When this happened, some wanted to go back, but the servant of God could be persuaded by no argument from the journey he had begun. In fact, placing everything which had happened to him as being at the discretion of God, he was by no means disposed to return before he had discerned by the will of God whether he could preach in those places.<sup>84</sup>

Piracy and theft are often dangers faced by travelers, particularly when there is a large wealth disparity between those traveling and the locals whom they encounter. Frankish missionaries like Anskar, carrying gifts from the Frankish king to the kings and chieftains of the Scandinavians, would have been targets of opportunity. Forty books was a significant traveling library and the fact that such a number might be sent with a missionary like Anskar demonstrated the wealth of the Frankish church to their mission field.

Another religious traveler who encountered theft on the road was Vivianus, bishop of Saintes (d. ca. 490), whose saint's life was written in the late sixth century. He was said to have traveled from his see in northern Aquitaine to Toulouse to redeem captives from the Visigothic king, traveling overland and by river with a two-wheeled cart drawn by oxen. Once he had reached Toulouse though, a thief stole the oxen that had carried the bishop all the way from Saintes.<sup>85</sup> Unlike ordinary mortals, Vivianus was able to curse the thief and force him (by the grace of God) to return his property, forgiving the thief with the injunction that the man must seek food from his labor and not through pillaging travelers. The author drew the episode from the life of Germanus of Auxerre, as Germanus' horse was stolen when he was staying overnight at an inn while traveling in his diocese. The thief was a poor man and shabbily equipped to travel, being barefoot and hoodless. The next day the thief returned the horse and confessed his sin because he had miraculously been unable to move in any direction except to return the horse to its owner.<sup>86</sup> Not only are the details of the stories nearly identical, but even the saints' attitudes towards the thieves are similar, emphasizing mercy, charity, and right-living rather than anger or punishment.<sup>87</sup> The holy men's actions revealed the underbelly of traveling, even for saints, which is that danger came not just from the elements but fellow travelers and thieves. This is echoed in the text with which we started this chapter, Stephen of Ripon's *Life of Wilfrid*, in which Wilfrid's enemies mistook another exiled bishop named Winfrid for the saint, capturing him, robbing him of all of his money, and killing most of his companions.<sup>88</sup> While the mistake was fortunate for Wilfrid, the ugly robbery and assassination attempt was not the opportunistic theft against a traveler like Vivianus. Instead, it was a concentrated and failed attack on Wilfrid during a socially and physically vulnerable moment: while traveling.

Attacks might come not just from thieves, but from those who were supposed to protect citizens. The eighth-century traveler and monastic founder Willibald of Eichstätt (d. 787) and his brother crossed the Apennine Mountains on their way to Rome, where they "passed safely through the ambushes of the fierce and arrogant soldiery," arriving with their relatives and company at the shrine of St. Peter.<sup>89</sup> The missionary saint Boniface of Fulda (675–754) also feared the "savage ferocity of the undisciplined soldiery" in northern Italy.<sup>90</sup> While neither text specifies who these soldiers were or who might have commanded them, it is likely that the line between soldiers and bandits was thin or non-existent. The editors of the *Life of Boniface* speculated that the soldiers might have been the Byzantine troops around Ravenna, who, though often powerless compared with the Lombards or other barbarian groups, were

technically the masters of Italy.<sup>91</sup> Early medieval land transport was more dangerous than water travel, as in addition to the perils of the weather, travelers had to deal with people who sought to harm or rob them. Given the expense that land travel entailed compared to journeying by sea, it is no wonder that there are fewer sources and less information about early medieval land travel.

Travel was a period of vulnerability for early medieval men and women. The danger to their physical bodies was evident, as both the water and the land held geographical and human dangers that put religious travelers at risk. Beyond this physical danger, the sources reveal the mindset of these religious travelers. They saw travel as a moment of spiritual vulnerability, which also presented the opportunity for spiritual power, utilizing relics or their own holiness to harness the power of God and prevent misfortune.

Combining an understanding of the material aspects of travel with that of the religious and cultural mindsets of the medieval travelers themselves reveals both the change and continuity of travel in the early medieval period. The continuity of the natural and human-created landscape, of currents and winds, Roman roads and mountain bandits, is juxtaposed with the new features of travel in the early Middle Ages. The new *wics* and trading places demonstrate the shifting vectors for the movement of people and objects. The slow transformation of ship technology based on local conditions shows how the maritime micro-regions were both connected to one another, and also extremely localized in the Mediterranean, Atlantic, and North Seas. The physical landscape and material culture provide geographical context for the textual accounts, revealing medieval religious travelers in both objective and subjective terms, the real-and-imagined landscape of motion and migration.

A global view of early medieval travel does not require these places to be the same or even in continual contact; instead the plurality of material, geographical, and textual sources establishes that the religious travelers were a common feature of the landscape of travel more generally. The cultural impact that Christianity had on travel is evident in the ways that religious travel overlapped with the political, social, and economic motives. Early medieval people saw movement across distance as a form of power, and that power, whether it was travel as political exile or as pilgrimage, was connected to divine power, accessed on earth through holy people and holy places.

## Notes

- 1 Stephen of Ripon, "Vita Wilfridi." In *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus*, ed. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927), § 24, 48–49.
- 2 Stephen of Ripon, § 25, 50–51.
- 3 Stephen of Ripon, § 25, 50–51.
- 4 Stephen of Ripon, § 26, 52–53.
- 5 Stephen of Ripon, § 27, 52–53.
- 6 Stephen of Ripon, § 28, 54–55.
- 7 Stephen of Ripon, § 28, 54–55.

- 8 Christopher Loveluck, *Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages, c.AD 600–1150: A Comparative Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 178–212.
- 9 Barry W. Cunliffe, *Europe Between the Oceans: Themes and Variations: 9000 BC to AD 1000* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008); Stéphane Lebecq, “England and the Continent in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries: The Question of Logistics.” In *St. Augustine and the Conversion of England*, ed. Richard Gameson (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999), 50–97; Jonathan M. Wooding, *Communication and Commerce along the Western Sealand AD 400–800* (Oxford: Tempus Reparatum, 1996); Michel Mollat du Jourdin, *Europe and the Sea* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993).
- 10 Cunliffe, *Europe Between the Oceans*, 31–61. For the current Mediterranean migration crisis, see United Nations High Commission for Refugees, “Desperate Journeys: Refugees and Migrants Entering and Crossing Europe via the Mediterranean and Western Balkans Routes,” United Nations Refugee Agency, Bureau for Europe UNHCR, March 2018, <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/63039>.
- 11 Gregory of Tours, “Gloria Martyrum.” Ed. Bruno Krusch. MGH SRM 1, Part 2. (Hanover, 1885), 94. “Et ingressus navem, erectis velis ac per illum antemnae, quae modulum crucis gestat, apparatus extensis, flante vento, pelagus altum arripiunt. Qui dum navigant, ut Massiliensis urbis portum attingant, adpropinquare coeperunt ad locum quendam, de quo a litore maris lapideus mons exurgens ac paulatim decedens, summa tenus unda in mari distenditur. Cumque inpellente vento carina magno impetu ferretur in praeceps, ut scilicet scopulo inlisa quassaretur, ac nautae discrimen intuentes exitu vociferarent, diaconus, elevatam cum sanctis pignoribus capsam, invocare nomina singulorum cum gemitu et voce maxima coepit, deprecans, ut eorum virtute ab hoc periculo perituri liberarentur. Iam iamque adpropinquabat navis, ut praefati sumus, ad scopulum; et statim in sanctorum contemplatione reliquarum ab ipso loco commotus cum violentia maiori ventus huic vento contrarius fluctum elisit ventumque diversum repulit ac, navem in pelagus profundum revocatum, cunctos a mortis periculo liberavit.”
- 12 Gregory of Tours, in “Gloria Martyrum,” calls him “Pope Pelagius”, but in Gregory’s *DLH* his deacon Agiulf was in Rome in 590 for the consecration of Pope Gregory I after the death of Pelagius II (Gregory of Tours, *DLH*, X.1.) On that trip, Agiulf stopped in Lyon on his return home. Gregory of Tours, *Vita Patrum*, ed. Giselle de Nie (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), 8.6. It is possible that Agiulf was Gregory’s messenger (and relic-receiver) on this earlier trip as well.
- 13 Thomas F.X. Noble, “Gregory of Tours and the Roman Church.” In *The World of Gregory of Tours*, ed. Kathleen Mitchell and Ian Wood (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 160–61.
- 14 Gregory of Tours, “Decem Libri Historiarum.” Ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison. MGH SRM 1, Part 1. (Hanover, 1884), I.30, 22–23. Catianus (Gatianus) of Tours was mentioned in “Gloria Confessorum” in chapter four; Trophimus of Arles and Paulus of Narbonne were not given separate accounts. Saturninus of Toulouse and Dionysius of Paris were summarized in “Gloria Martyrum” in chapters 47 and 71, respectively. Finally, again in “Gloria Confessorum,” Stremomius of Clermont was given his own account in chapter 29, as was Martial of Limoges in chapter 27.
- 15 Bruno Krusch, ed., “Vita Amandi,” MGH SRM 5 (Hanover, 1910), § 10, 435.
- 16 Richard A. Paselk, “Medieval Tools of Navigation: An Overview.” In *The Art, Science, and Technology of Medieval Travel*, ed. Robert Bork and Andrea Kann (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 169–80.
- 17 Nautical archaeology has been gaining ground as a sub-discipline in recent years, as modern technology has been used in excavating previously unreachable areas.

- For instance, a third-century Gallo-Roman ship discussed in Jonathan Adams and Jennifer Black, "From Rescue to Research: Medieval Ship Finds in St Peter Port, Guernsey." *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 33, no. 2 (2004): 230–52.
- 18 Jonas of Bobbio, "Vita Columbani." Ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRG 37 (Hanover, 1905), I.4, 160. "Ibi omnipotentis misericordiam prestolantur, ut, si suae voluntatis inhereat, concepti consilii effectus perficiatur, agnoscutque secum clementis iudicis volutatem adesse, carinamque ingressi, dubias per freta ingrediuntur vias mitemque salum, prosperantibus zepherorum flabris, pernici cursu ad Britannicos perveniunt sinus."
  - 19 The existence of a sixth-century wooden structure (likely a monastic cell) concurrent with the life of the saint has been confirmed with radiocarbon dating of archaeological finds from Prof. Charles Thomas in 1957. The preliminary findings are available in Ewan Campbell and Cathy MacIver, "Excavations at Iona Abbey 2017 Data Structure Report." 2017, <https://ionaresearchgroup.arts.gla.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/Iona-AbbeyDSR2017.pdf>.
  - 20 Adomnán of Iona, "Vita Columbae." In *Adomnán's Life of Columba*, ed. Alan Orr Anderson and Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), I.5, 28. "Columbanus filius Beognai ad nos transnavigare incipiens nunc in undosis carybdis Breani aestibus valde periclitatur; ambasque ad caelum in prora sedens palmas elevat, turbatum quoque et tam formidabile pilagus benedicit. Quam tamen dominus sic terret, non ut navis naufragio in qua ipse resedet undis obruatur, sed potius ad orandum intentius suscitetur, ut ad nos deo propitio post transvadatum perveniat periculum."
  - 21 The eddy at Corryvreckan is attested more fully in other Irish early medieval sources, including Kuno Meyer, ed., "Sanas Cormaic." In *Sanas Cormaic: An Old-Irish Glossary* (Felinfach: Llanerch Publishers, 1913). For analysis, see Richard Sharpe, trans., *Life of St Columba* (New York: Penguin, 1995), 264–65.
  - 22 As a modern sailing manual states, "The tides in Rathlin Sound are very strong, have several eddies and are subject to great variations both in force and direction. Tides run from 6 knots at springs, to 4 knots at neaps causing strong eddies along the shores, with heavy overfalls off all the headlands - the MacDonnell Race at the northeast corner is particularly fearsome. Slough-na-more overfalls are violent during the full strength of the west going stream between about +0130 and +0230 Dover. After this, the overfalls slowly subside to ripples upon the surface. For those approaching from the south, close in off Torr Head the Ebb runs up to 9 knots during Spring tides." Michael Harpur, "In Your Footsteps Sailing Guide, eOceanic." Accessed December 30, 2018, [https://eoceanic.com/sailing/harbours/europe/ireland/derry/151/church\\_bay](https://eoceanic.com/sailing/harbours/europe/ireland/derry/151/church_bay).
  - 23 Richard W. Unger, *The Ship in the Medieval Economy, 600–1600* (London: Croom Helm, 1980); Christiane Villain-Gandossi, Salvino Busuttil, and Paul Adam, eds., *Medieval Ships and the Birth of Technological Societies: Northern Europe* (Malta: European Coordination Centre for Research and Documentation in Social Sciences, 1989); Gillian Hutchinson, *Medieval Ships and Shipping* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1994).
  - 24 Christer Westerdahl, "Sails and the Cognitive Roles of Viking Age Ships." In *Maritime Societies of the Viking and Medieval World*, ed. James H. Barrett and Sarah Jane Gibbon (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2015), 15–16.
  - 25 Marie-Louise Nosch and C. Gillis, *Ancient Textiles: Production, Crafts and Society* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007); Susan Möller-Wiering, "Textiles for Transport." In *Northern Archaeological Textiles, Nesat VII: Textile Symposium in Edinburgh, 5th–7th May 1999*, ed. Frances Pritchard and John Peter Wild (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005), 75–79; Vibeke Bischoff, "Viking-Age Sails: Form and Proportion." *Journal of Maritime Archaeology* 12, no. 1 (2017): 1–24.

- 26 E. Ellmers, "Shipbuilding." In *Medieval Archaeology: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Pam J. Crabtree (New York: Garland Publishing, 2001), 311–13; Susan Rose, "Medieval Ships and Seafaring." In *The Oxford Handbook of Maritime Archaeology*, ed. Ben Ford, Donny L. Hamilton, and Alexis Catsambis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 426–44.
- 27 Frédéric Durand, *Les Vikings et La Mer* (Paris: Editions Errance, 1996); Jan Bill, "Ships and Seamanship." In *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Vikings*, ed. Peter Sawyer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 182–201; Ole Crumlin-Pedersen, *Archaeology and the Sea in Scandinavia and Britain: A Personal Account* (Roskilde: Viking Ship Museum, 2010); Anton Wilhelm Brøgger and Haakon Shetelig, *The Viking Ships: Their Ancestry and Evolution* (Oslo: Dryer, 1951).
- 28 Thomas Dhoop and Juan-Pablo Olaberria, "Practical Knowledge in the Viking Age: The Use of Mental Templates in Clinker Shipbuilding." *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 44, no. 1 (2015): 95–110.
- 29 Morten Ravn, *Viking-Age War Fleets: Shipbuilding, Resource Management and Maritime Warfare in 11th-Century Denmark* (Roskilde: Viking Ship Museum, 2016).
- 30 Gareth Williams, *The Viking Ship* (London: British Museum Press, 2014).
- 31 Stéphane Lebecq, *Marchands et navigateurs frisons du haut Moyen Âge: Corpus des Sources écrites* (Lille: Presses universitaires de Lille, 1983).
- 32 George Little, *Dublin Before the Vikings* (Dublin: M.H. Gill, 1957), 76. The ten kinds of Irish ships were: the *navis longa* (Ir. *Ler-long*); *barca* (Ir. *barc*, for coasting); *Saor luinge*, called *Serrcenn*, (a sawhead, a type of cutter); *Navis oneraria*, cargo-ship; *caupallus*, victualling ship, or hollowed out canoe; *naufagium scaphae familiae*, a type of passenger ship; *curuca* (Ir. *curragh*); *navicula*, sail-boat (Ir. *curachán*); *Cymba* or *cymbula*, ferry-boat; *alnus*, a boat of alder wood.
- 33 Adomnán of Iona, "Vita Columbae." In *Adomnán's Life of Columba*, ed. Anderson and Anderson, II.45, 174. "Prima vice, cum dolatae per terram pineae et roboreae traherentur longae naves et magnae navium pariter materiae eveherentur domus... Nam ea die quae nostri nautae omnibus praeparatis supra memoratarum ligna materiarum proposuere scafis per mare et curucis trahere, venti praeteritis contrarii diebus subito in secundos conversi sunt."
- 34 Eric Reith, "Mediterranean Ship Design in the Middle Ages." In *The Oxford Handbook of Maritime Archaeology*, ed. Ben Ford, Donny L. Hamilton, and Alexis Catsambis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 406–25; Ellmers, "Shipbuilding." In *Medieval Archaeology*, 312–13.
- 35 McCormick, *The Origins of the European Economy*, 592–604; George F. Bass and Frederick H. van Doorninck, *Yassi Ada: Volume I, A Seventh-Century Byzantine Shipwreck*, (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1982); Deborah N. Carlson, Justin Leidwanger, and Sarah M. Kampbell, eds., *Maritime Studies in the Wake of the Byzantine Shipwreck at Yassiada, Turkey* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2015).
- 36 Ufuk Kocabaş, "The Yenikapı Byzantine-Era Shipwrecks, Istanbul, Turkey: A Preliminary Report and Inventory of the 27 Wrecks Studied by Istanbul University." *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 44, no. 1 (2015): 5–38.
- 37 For historical and archaeological overviews, see Joachim Henning, ed., *Post-Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007); S. Gelichi and R. Hodges, eds., *From One Sea to Another. Trading Places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages: Proceedings of the International Conference, Comacchio 27th-29th March 2009*, vol. 3, *Seminari Del Centro Interuniversitario per La Storia e l'archeologia Dell'alto Medioevo* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012).
- 38 *Emporia* or *wics* have long been at the center of studies about early medieval trade, see Richard Hodges, *Dark Age Economics: Origins of Towns and Trade, A.D.600–*

- 1000 (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 1982); David Hill and Robert Cowie, *Wics: The Early Mediaeval Trading Centres of Northern Europe* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001); Tim Pestell and Katharina Ulmschneider, eds., *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and Productive Sites, 650–850* (Macclesfield: Windgather Press, 2003).
- 39 Martin Carver, “Commerce and Cult: Confronted Ideologies in 6th–9th-Century Europe.” *Medieval Archaeology* 59, no. 1 (2015): 1–23.
- 40 W.A. van Es et al., *Excavations at Dorestad*. (Amersfoort: ROB, 1980); Annemarieke Willemsen and Hanneke Kik, eds., *Dorestad in an International Framework: New Research on Centres of Trade and Coinage in Carolingian Times: Proceedings of the First Dorestad Congress Held at the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden, the Netherlands June 24–27, 2009* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010). For a comparison with Quentovic, see Stéphane Lebecq, “Pour Une Histoire Parallèle de Quentovic et Dorestad.” In *Villes et Campagnes Au Moyen Âge. Mélanges Georges Despy*, ed. Jean-Michel Duvosquel and Alain Dierkens (Liege: Editions du Perron, 1991), 415–28.
- 41 M. Redknapp, “Medieval Pottery Production at Mayen: Recent Advances, Current Problems.” In *Zur Keramik des Mittelalters und der Beginnenden Neuzeit im Rheinland*, ed. D.R.M. Gaimster, M. Redknapp, and H.-H. Wegner (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1988), 3–37; Paul Tyres, “Potsherd - Atlas of Roman Pottery.” Accessed December 29, 2018, <http://potsherd.net/atlas/potsherd>.
- 42 McCormick, *The Origins of the European Economy*, 606–12 and 670–72; Stéphane Lebecq, “Communication and Exchange in Northwest Europe.” In *Ohthere's Voyages: A Late 9th Century Account of Voyages along the Coasts of Norway and Denmark and Its Cultural Context*, ed. Janet Bately and Anton Englert, (Roskilde: Viking Ship Museum, 2007), 170–79. Still valuable is Archibald Ross Lewis, *The Northern Seas: Shipping and Commerce in Northern Europe, A.D. 300–1100* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1958).
- 43 David Hill et al., “Quentovic Defined.” *Antiquity* 64, no. 242 (1990): 51–58; David Hill et al., “The Definition of the Early Medieval Site of Quentovic.” *Antiquity* 66, no. 253 (1992): 965–69; Margaret Worthington, “Quentovic.” In *Medieval Archaeology: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Pam J. Crabtree (New York: Garland Pub., 2001); Stéphane Lebecq, “Quentovic. Un État de La Question.” *Studien zur Sachsenforschung* 8 (1993): 73–82. For a recent collection of articles, see Stéphane Lebecq, Bruno Béthouart, and Laurent Verslype, eds., *Quentovic: environnement, archéologie, histoire* (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Université Charles-de-Gaulle-Lille 3, 2010).
- 44 Stephen of Ripon, “Vita Wilfridi,” § 25, 50–51. For an overview on the direct routes between the British Isles and the continent in this period see Stéphane Lebecq, “The Northern Seas (Fifth to Eighth Centuries).” In *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. Paul Fouracre, vol. 1, c.500–700 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 647.
- 45 Willibald, “Vita Bonifatii.” Ed. Wilhelm Levison, MGH SRG 57 (Hanover, 1905), § 5, 20.
- 46 Janet L. Nelson, “Presidential Address: England and the Continent in the Ninth Century: II: Vikings and Others.” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 13 (2003): 18–22.
- 47 Alcuin, “Epistolae Alcuini.” Ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH Epp. IV, Epistolae Karolini Aevi II (Berlin, 1895), Ep. 230, 374–75 and Ep. 232, 376–78.
- 48 F.L. Ganshof, Françoise Godding-Ganshof, and Antoine De Smet, *Le polyptyque de l'abbaye de Saint-Bertin (844–859)* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1975), 23; Nelson, “England and the Continent in the Ninth Century,” 20; Lebecq notes in Lebecq, “Quentovic. Un État de La Question,” 78, that there were two Anglo-Saxon names among the Quentovic moneyers. The Anglo-Saxon component at Quentovic

- was first explored by Michel Rouche, "Les Saxons et les origines de Quentovic." *Revue du Nord* 59, no. 235 (1977): 457–78.
- 49 Lupus of Ferrières, "Epistulae." Ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH Epistolae 6 (Berlin, 1885), Ep. 71, 68. "Quam ob causam nunc dei servi, qui pro vobis assidue orant, hoc triennio consueta vestimenta non accipiunt et, quae ferre compelluntur, attrita et pleraque resarta sunt, leguminibus empticiis sustentantur, piscium et casei consolationem rarissime consequuntur."
  - 50 Oswald Holder-Egger, ed., "Miracula Sancti Wandregisili," MGH SS 15.1 (Hanover, 1887), § 15, 408–09.
  - 51 Richard Duncan-Jones, *Economy of the Roman Empire: Quantitative Studies*, 2nd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 368.
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  - 53 McCormick, *The Origins of the European Economy*, 539 n. 56.
  - 54 McCormick, 353.
  - 55 Olivier Bruand, "Pénétration et circulation du sel de l'Atlantique en France septentrionale (viiiie-xie siècles)." *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest. Anjou. Maine. Poitou-Charente. Touraine* 115, no. 3 (2008): 7–32.
  - 56 Loveluck, *Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, 194–95.
  - 57 ARS-ware was widespread around the western Mediterranean from the second to the sixth centuries, forming a significant part of assemblages in Provence and the Rhône valley during the third through the fifth centuries. John W. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (Rome: British School at Rome, 1972); John W. Hayes, *A Supplement to Late Roman Pottery* (Rome: British School at Rome, 1980). For a summary of African Red Slip-ware studies, see Tyres, "Potsherd - Atlas of Roman Pottery."
  - 58 Dérivées-des-sigillées paléochrétiennes (DSP)-ware was widely distributed in Aquitaine and southern Francia, with independent networks that were divided into roughly three parts – Provençal, well known from excavations at Marseille sites; DSP *atlantique* (Aquitainian), which had a more local distribution centered around Bordeaux; and Languedocian near Narbonne. The initial survey of DSP-ware was Jacqueline Rigoir, "Les sigillées paléochrétiennes grises et oranges." *Gallia* 26, no. 1 (1968): 177–244. More recently, see Simon Esmonde Cleary, *The Roman West, AD 200–500: An Archaeological Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 325–27.
  - 59 Charles Thomas, "'Gallici Nautae de Galliarum Provinciis'—A Sixth/Seventh Century Trade with Gaul, Reconsidered." *Medieval Archaeology* 34, no. 1 (1990): 1–26; Ewan Campbell, "E Ware and Aquitaine: A Reappraisal of the Petrological Evidence." *Scottish Archaeological Review* 3, no. 1 (1984): 38–41; Ian W. Doyle, "Early Medieval E-Ware Pottery: An Unassuming but Enigmatic Kitchen Ware?" In *Fragments of Lives Past: Archaeological Objects from Irish Road Schemes (Archaeology and the National Roads Authority Monograph)*, ed. Bernice Kelly, Niall Roycroft, and Stanley Michael (Dublin: National Roads Authority, 2014), 81–127.
  - 60 Michel Rouche, "L'héritage de La Voirie Antique dans La Gaule du Haut Moyen Âge (Ve-XIe Siècles)." In *L'homme et la Route en Europe Occidentale au Moyen Âge et aux Temps Modernes. Deuxième Journées Internationales d'histoire*, 20–22 Septembre 1980 (Auch: Flaran, 1982), 13–32. Dated but still useful are: Albert C. Leighton, *Transport and Communication in Early Medieval Europe, A.D. 500–1100*



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- 61 D. Deneck, "Methode und Ergebnisse der Historisch-Geographischen und Archäologischen Untersuchung und Rekonstruktion Mittelalterliche Verkehrswege." In *Geschichtswissenschaft und Archäologie*, ed. Herbert Jankuhn and Richard Wenskus (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1979), 433–83.
  - 62 The most complete treatment of Roman roads in Gaul remains Albert Grenier, *Manuel d'archéologie Gallo-Romaine*, 6/2 *L'archéologie Du Sol: Les Routes, Navigation, Occupation Du Sol* (Paris: Picard, 1935).
  - 63 Willem Derde, "The Fiertel Landscape." Keynote address at Walking with Saints: Protection, Devotion, and Civic Identity, International Conference on Intangible Heritage, Ronse, Belgium, 2018.
  - 64 Stéphane Lebecq, "Entre Antiquité Tardive et Très Haut Moyen Ages: Permeance et Mutations Des Systèmes de Communications Dans La Gaule et Ses Marges." In *Settimane Di Studio*, vol. 45 (Spoleto: Presso la sede del centro, 1998), 463–64.
  - 65 Raymond Chevallier, *Roman Roads* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1976), 160–62.
  - 66 Chevallier, 39–47; Victor von Hagen, *Roads That Led to Rome* (Cleveland, OH: World Publishing, 1967).
  - 67 Bernard Bachrach, "Carolingian Military Operations: An Introduction to Technological Perspectives." In *The Art, Science, and Technology of Medieval Travel*, ed. Robert Bork and Andrea Kann (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 23.
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  - 69 Bachrach, "Carolingian Military Operations," 26; Bernard S. Bachrach, "Charlemagne and the Carolingian General Staff." *The Journal of Military History* 66 (2002): 313–57.
  - 70 Gregory of Tours, *DLH*, X.15. "Quadráginta ab urbe Pectava milibus," and Venantius Fortunatus, "Vita Martini." In *Oeuvres, Tome IV, Vie de Saint Martin*, ed. Solange Quesnel (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1996), II.46. "Decimo ab urbe Pictava milario."
  - 71 G. Waitz, *Annales Bertiniani*, MGH SRG 5 (Hanover, 1883), Anno 839, 23; Janet L. Nelson, trans., *The Annals of St-Bertin* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), 47.
  - 72 Sidonius Apollinaris, "Propempticon Ad Libellum, Carmina 24." In *Poèmes*, ed. Alfred Loyen, vol. 1 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1960), 164. "Antiquus tibi nec teratur agger, cuius per spatium satis vetustis nomen Caesareum viret columnis; sed sensim gradere, uta moras habendo affectum celerem noves amicis."
  - 73 Lebecq, "Systèmes de Communications," 467; Christian Landes, "La Voie Domitienne." *L'Archéologue* 28 (1997): 37–40.
  - 74 The inscriptions on *milliaria* have been gathered together in Gerold Walser, ed., *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Miliaaria Imperii Romani*, vol. 17 (Berlin: Academy of Sciences, 1986). See also Bachrach, "Carolingian Military Operations," 21–22.

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- 76 Sidonius Apollinaris, "Epistulae I.5 'Letter to Herenius,'" in *The Letters of Sidonius*, ed. O.M. Dalton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1915).
- 77 Joëlle Burnouf et al., eds., *Le pont de la Guillotière: Franchir le Rhône à Lyon* (Lyon: Circonscription des Antiquités Historiques, 1991); Martin Carver, "Marriages of True Minds: Archaeology with Texts." In *Archaeology: The Widening Debate*, ed. Barry Cunliffe, Wendy Davies, and Colin Renfrew (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 481–83.
- 78 Wilhelm Levison, ed., "Vita Ansberti," MGH SRM 5 (Hanover, 1910), § 34, 639. "In praefata vero possessione eorundem virorum, scilicet in via publica ac delapidata, quae iuxta eam iacet ac Rotomagensis ducit ad urbem, ubi sancti pontificis Ansberti venerabile pausaverat corpus..." The property was said to be about four miles distant from Fontenelle as well, "distant a coenobio Fontanella milibus quattuor."
- 79 Lebecq, "Systèmes de Communications," 468.
- 80 Gregory of Tours, "Gloria Confessorum," ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM 1, Part 2 (Hanover, 1885), § 7, 303. "Fuit et in Nobiliacense pago urbis Turonicae arbor, quae ab impulsu venti ruens, viam publicam inpedibat. Quod iter cum vir beatus ageret et ob ruinam arboris clausam cerneret viam, motus misericordia, facto desuper signo crucis, erexit eam. Quae usque nunc stare iuxta viam erecta visa est; etiam praemortua, quia spoliata a cortice, vivebat tamen honore viri Dei. De quo cortice multi fideliter eradentes, ut dilutam aquam sumebant, mox medicamina capiebant. Vidimus etiam nos hanc arborem erectam." Translation based on Raymond van Dam, trans., *Gregory of Tours: Glory of the Confessors* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1989).
- 81 Gregory of Tours, "Gloria Confessorum," § 18, 308. "Sed ille iam defessus senio, excusat abire, dicens: 'Vides,' inquit, 'fili, quod senuerim, et hiemps solito asperior ingravat. Descendunt pluviae, ac venti cuncta turbine perflant, inflantur flumina, et ipsae quoque viae a frequentatione imbrium effusae, pene in lutum sunt dissolutae; et nunc non convenit aetati meae ista modo properare itinera.'"
- 82 The hardships and modes of travel for Merovingian messengers and letter bearers (some of the most common and elusive of early medieval travelers) were many; see Vida Alice Tyrell, "Merovingian Letters and Letter Writers." (Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 2012), 199–208.
- 83 Gregory of Tours, § 19, 309.
- 84 Rimbert, "Vita Anskarii." Ed. G. Waitz, MGH SRG 55 (Hanover, 1884), § 10, 31–32. "...dum, in medio fere essent itinere, in pyratas offenderunt. Et cum negotiators, qui cum eis ibant, se viriliter defenderint, et primo quidem victoriam coeperint, in secundo tamen ab eisdem pyratas devicti ac superati sunt, ita ut naves et omnia quae habebant eis tulerint, et ipsi vix pedibus ad terram fugientes evaserint. Ibi itaque et munera regia, quae illuc deferre debuerant, et omnia quae habuerant perdidit, excepto parum quid, quod forte prosilientes e navi secum auferre et asportare poterant. Inter quae et pene 40 libros, quos ad servitium Dei sibi aggregaverant, illis diripientibus amiserunt. Hoc itaque facto, cum quidam reverti, quidam inantea ire disponerent, servus Dei a coepto itinere nulla ratione flecti potuit. Quin potius in Dei ponens arbitrio, quid illi contingeret, nequaquam redire disposuit, antequam nutu Dei dinosceret, utrum in illis partibus licentia praedicandi fieri posset."
- 85 Bruno Krusch, ed., "Vita Bibiani et Viviani Episcopi Santonensis," MGH SRM 3 (Hanover, 1896), § 5, 97. The Paris-Orléans-Tours-Poitiers-Saintes-Bordeaux route was utilized extensively in the early medieval period by the Frankish kings, from Clovis to Pippin III, to assure Merovingian control of Aquitaine and

- communications with Spain. See Lebecq, "Systèmes de Communications," 473; Michel Rouche, *L'Aquitaine: des Wisigoths aux Arabes* (Paris: Editions Touzot, 1979), 251.
- 86 Constantius of Lyon, "Vita Germani." In *Vie de Saint Germain d'Auxerre*, ed. René Borius, Sources Chrétiennes 112 (Paris, 1965), § 20.
- 87 Andrew Gillett, *Envoys and Political Communication in the Late Antique West, 411–533* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 145, n. 126.
- 88 Stephen of Ripon, "Vita Wilfridi," § 25, 50–51. "... misere ad extremum sanctum episcopum nudum dereliquerunt. Putabunt enim, ut non erat, illum esse sanctum Wilfrithum episcopum, errore bono unius syllabae seducti."
- 89 Huneberc, "Vita Willibaldi Episcopi Eischstetensis et Vita Wynneballi Abbatis Heidenheimensis Auctore Sanctimoniale Heidenheimensis." Ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SS 15.1 (Hanover, 1887), § 3, 91.
- 90 Willibald, "Vita Bonifatii," § 5, 20.
- 91 Thomas F.X. Noble and Thomas Head, eds., *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1995), 120 n. 26.

## 2 Contested space, sacred space in the Holy Land

No place in the early medieval world was more weighted with the multivalent associations of space and place than Jerusalem. Sacred places are socially constructed, made by individuals and communities, often at sites that are contested in some way. Jerusalem in the early medieval period was just such a place of contestation, with Byzantine Greek local churches and monastic houses, western Christian pilgrims journeying to a place that was both real and theologically imagined, and later, Muslim political and religious rulers. Far from the actual eastern Mediterranean, there was a dichotomy between how the city was imagined and depicted based on its eschatological role in Christian theology. The global connections between Jerusalem the real place, filled with a heterogeneous population of both locals and travelers, mirror the global connections between Jerusalem the heavenly city and the Christian faithful, seeking meaning in a holy geography of places and space. The contestation between real and imagined, global and local, Christian and non-Christian is evident in the surviving maps from the early medieval period and in the Christian hagiographical and exegetical sources that are the main source of evidence for Byzantine and post-Byzantine Jerusalem, including those of pilgrims from the Latin West and the monks of the Greek- and Arabic-speaking communities in Palestine.

In the surviving visual, material, and textual sources, Jerusalem as a pilgrim site was connected to elite discourses about sacred space, in which hierarchy and power were central ways that people perceived and organized space. These real-and-imagined sacred spaces were conceptualized in theological and social terms, and physically negotiated by people whose ideas about Jerusalem might not match the current uses of a real landscape.<sup>1</sup> Pre-Constantinian Christian worship focused on the eschatological meaning of the historical narratives from the Bible; in the early medieval period, the topographical associations of these both historical and sacred biblical narratives became paramount.<sup>2</sup> In this context, the spatial mobility of religious travelers and the stories about that movement in the sources contributed to Jerusalem's status contested sacred space in the dynamic world of early Middle Ages. Travel to religious sites in the Holy Land in the period demonstrates how the movement of people and goods across long distances contributed to the

transformation of the Roman world, constructing networks through cultural and religious exchange.

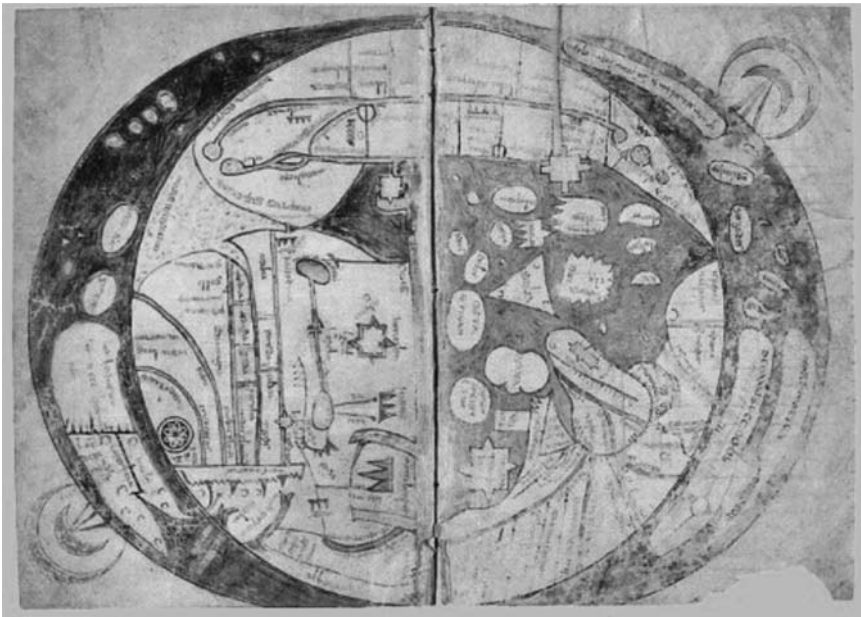
### **Mapping medieval Jerusalem**

Early medieval people viewed Jerusalem as the center of the known physical world and the symbolic center of the heavenly world. This was reflected in medieval mental representations of space; as Church Father Jerome (347–420) put it, Jerusalem was the “navel of the world,” the center and birthplace of creation.<sup>3</sup> People and objects gained charisma through imaginative, or perceived movement to or around the Holy Land. Because of this, Jerusalem’s status was not just a physical location, but a theological one. Early medieval sources engaged with travel to the region rhetorically and representationally, with distance conveying authority even if someone didn’t actually travel there. As early as the fourth century, Jerusalem was viewed as the center of the world in an eschatological, historical, and topographical sense.<sup>4</sup> Christian exegetes held that the descent to earth of the heavenly Jerusalem had already occurred in the historical and earthly Jerusalem with Christ’s death on the cross and resurrection, and the heavenly Jerusalem would be fully established at the end of time.<sup>5</sup> This eschatological importance of the city was paralleled in its importance as an earthly place and as the site of major events in the life of Christ and other biblical figures. Visual depictions of space and mapmaking in the Middle Ages were relatively rare; it was more common to write a verbal description of a location or landed property than to depict it graphically. However, Jerusalem as the center point of a geographical reality appears in the early diagrammatic T-O maps showing the world as a circle divided into three continents, Africa, Asia, and Europe, with Jerusalem at the center. The original description of the earth in these three parts is from the seventh-century *Etymologiae* by Isidore of Seville, and these diagrams appear in the many later manuscripts of that text.<sup>6</sup> Another early oriented map is from the first half of the tenth century, found in Beatus of Liébana’s *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, which linked the eschatological and geographical elements by illustrating world as described in the Book of Revelation.<sup>7</sup> In the early medieval source base, maps are both objects and texts, showing both reality and theology in one image. Like hagiography, maps can demonstrate the “real and imagined” at once, incorporating both real geographical knowledge and imagined ideas about the Holy Land by people who may or may not have seen the places in question. For example, the Madaba map was created as a mosaic on the floor of a village church near modern Amman, Jordan, during the reign of Justinian (r. 527–565).<sup>8</sup> This map was created by people who lived in Palestine, and the focus has been on the buildings and places that provide a glimpse of the architectural reality of sixth-century Holy Land. The map also contains elements that are imagined, with textual descriptions of biblical events associated with the holy places drawn from the Old and New

Testaments.<sup>9</sup> It is just as much an account of Christian sacred history as it is a depiction of the buildings and locations of sixth-century Palestine.

The maps that do survive from the early medieval period have outlines of the land that have been called “unrecognizable travesties of geographic reality.”<sup>10</sup> While previous scholars have decried the distortions of copyists and ignorance of scribes for not knowing the outlines of the continents and not caring anyway, recent analysis has shown that on some maps the shapes of land were altered deliberately to demonstrate their symbolic meaning.<sup>11</sup> For instance, the eighth-century Pseudo-Isidorean Vatican map was created in “prouvincia” – that is, Provence, now southern France, between 763 and 777.<sup>12</sup>

On the Pseudo-Isidore map, the distances between the four patriarchates that survived the Muslim conquests of the seventh century, indicated with eight-cornered star-like symbols, were intentionally distorted to form a hidden equilateral triangle, symbolizing the Trinity. The map was also constructed around three concentric circles, symbolizing the perfection of creation. The first circle linked together Alexandria and Jerusalem, the second circle Rome, Constantinople, Carthage, and Babylon. Twenty-four lines radiated outwards from the center point, resembling a clock, symbolizing the unity and harmony of time and space, the mathematical and geometric shapes holding theological and spiritual significance, as well as geographical meaning, as their creator used these shapes to create a map of the world. This geometric framework



*Figure 2.1* Pseudo-Isidorean mappamundi.

*Source:* Image courtesy of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City.

underlies nearly all of the surviving medieval maps, with the perceived distances of real locations demonstrating theological truth, rather than geographical truth.

Complementing the imaginative and imagined landscapes in the images from the few surviving maps are the hagiographical and exegetical sources from the early medieval West about Jerusalem. These sources depict a place in which truths of the Bible must be reconciled with the physical landscape that might contradict these biblical truths. When confronted with such a contestation, the biblical or patristic truth (though it might be fictional) won out. Medieval theologians identified three levels of authority for information: first, the authority of Scripture, which was absolute, the universal truth of divine revelation. Second was the authority of the church fathers, who, while human and fallible, were seen to speak with one voice that proceeded directly from the mind of Christ. Third was the authority of living Christian teachers and eye-witnesses, who added value to the ideas of the first two authorities, but did not contradict them.<sup>13</sup>

The rhetorical authority of the Bible about the places of the Holy Land over experiential knowledge is demonstrated in the works of two seventh-century authors from the British Isles who never traveled to Jerusalem themselves, Adomnán, abbot of Iona in Scotland and Bede of the Northumbrian monastery of Wearmouth-Jarrow.<sup>14</sup> Born within a generation of one another and connected in the milieu of northern Britain, both wrote exegetical texts on the Holy Land entitled *De locis sanctis* ("On the Holy Places") with Bede's being a summary and abridgement of Adomnán's text drawing upon both "records of the ancients" (such as Jerome) and "the corroborating writings of newer teachers" (Adomnán and others).<sup>15</sup> Iona, founded by the Irish saint Columba, had connections with the kingdom of Northumbria. While no mention of Northumbria was made for Columba's ostensible sixth-century lifetime, his hagiographer Adomnán did show the power that the saint's memory had in making connections with northern England in the seventh century. The flowering of connections between the regions was a function of new seventh-century relationships formulated by Adomnán himself, as well as his immediate predecessors, as abbots of Iona.<sup>16</sup> There was considerable travel and contact between the two places, as Aldfrith, king of Northumbria 685–705 spent the year prior to his ascension studying at Iona.<sup>17</sup> Adomnán himself visited Aldfrith at least twice; first after the king's 685 battle with his brother Ecgfrith in the midst of a plague year; and a second visit two years later.<sup>18</sup>

On one of his trips to see his friend and patron Aldfrith, Adomnán presented him with the gift of a book of his exegetical text, the *De Locis Sanctis*, based on biblical truth, patristic authority, and testimony from an eye-witness source, a traveler named Arculf, whom both Adomnán and Bede biographize. They indicated that Arculf was a Gallic bishop shipwrecked in Iona on his way home from travels in the Mediterranean, including Palestine, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Rome.<sup>19</sup> While at the monastery of Iona, Arculf related

his exotic adventures to the monks there and abbot Adomnán took dictation, producing a travel book, which was seen as a contemporary description of the Holy Land and a witness to the decades just following the Arab conquest of Palestine.<sup>20</sup> Thomas O'Loughlin, in his steady and detailed work on the corpus of Adomnán's work, has proven that taken at face value, the above narrative of the *De locis sanctis*' production and authorship fails to take into account the true purpose of the tract, which was a work of theology that took a topographical approach to solving certain problems in Scripture.<sup>21</sup> While scholars have previously regarded Adomnán himself as a mere amanuensis for Arculf's first-hand account of the Holy Land, Adomnán was, in fact, a careful and learned theologian who used the authority of a traveling cleric who was said to have been to the Holy Land to lend authenticity to his theological tract.

For the audience of the *De locis sanctis*, the power and holiness of the perceived travel to the Holy Land by Arculf as a contemporary source complemented the authority of Scripture itself. Adomnán's first audience was the monks of Iona, but the second audience was king Aldfrith of Northumbria and the clerics of northern England such as Bede, who used Aldfrith's copy of the work to produce his abridgment of the theological study of the Holy Land. These were the first (although by no means last) audiences whom Adomnán felt needed topographical information to understand the Bible. Adomnán followed the exhortation of Augustine of Hippo that to solve some difficulties in Scripture, knowledge about places in the Holy Land is useful.<sup>22</sup> Bede extended that audience by revising Adomnán's complicated Hiberno-Latin text, which Bede called "lacinioso sermone," that is, in a wordy and prolix style.<sup>23</sup> Bede's version would have been more accessible to Anglo-Saxon Latin readers, preachers, or beginning exegetes who might have a hard time with Adomnán's original text. Both authors were concerned with aiding their audiences in imagining the holy sites of Jerusalem to help them better understand the Bible; the geographical reality of contemporary Palestine was relevant, but not the most important part of such an endeavor.<sup>24</sup>

More evidence for the Irish desire for geographical analysis of Scripture survives in the form of a map of the Holy Land accompanied an eighth-century commentary on the Book of Joshua, which survives in a ninth-century Irish manuscript.<sup>25</sup>

The map was intended to help readers understand the complicated and contradictory descriptions of the boundaries of the lands that the twelve tribes of Israel conquered from the Canaanites. Textual ambiguities in the biblical text were thus "clarified" by producing a visual rendering that smoothed over the inconsistencies. Biblical scholars now agree that most of Joshua was written during or after the period of the Babylonian exile, at least five hundred years after purported events of the text, representing an imagined past for the people of Israel that privileged spiritual, military, and geographic conquest. Likewise, the map created by an early medieval Irish exegete was intended to illustrate the theological truth of the historical and



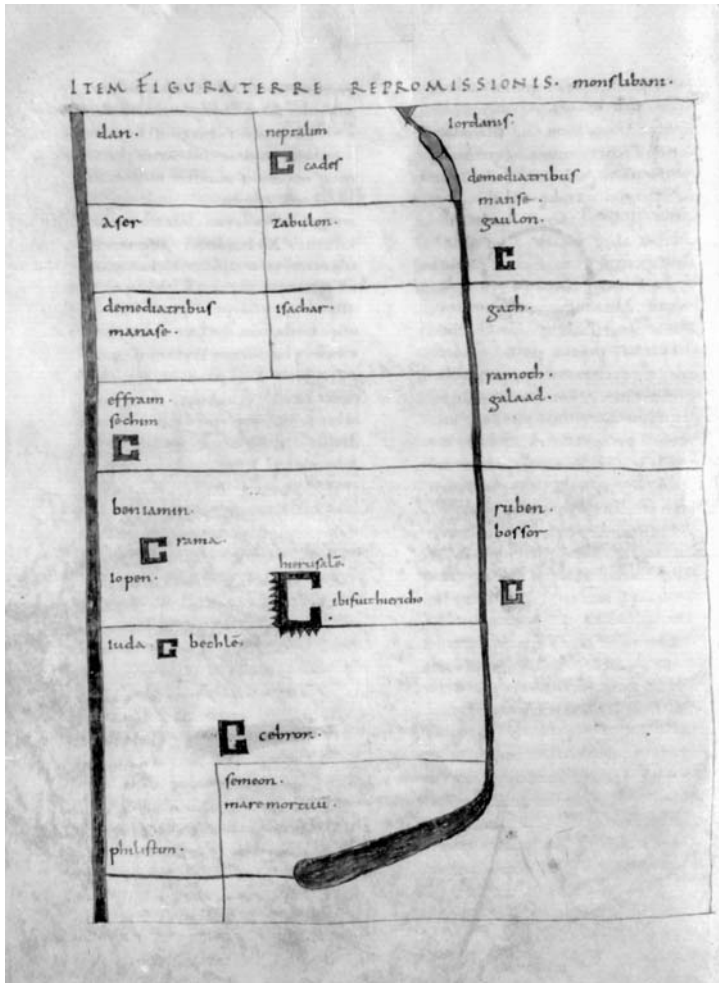


Figure 2.2 Book of Joshua map.

Source: Image courtesy of Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

geophysical descriptions of Joshua for an audience far removed from the context of either one.

The *De locis sanctis*, much like this map and hagiographical texts of the same period, demonstrates the connectivity of the world as perceived by Adomnán. In his world, travel, while exotic, was part of contemporary experience. From this perspective, the question of whether Arculf was a “real” person who traveled from the eastern Mediterranean to northern Britain is immaterial. Adomnán did use him as a literary device to provide authority as an eyewitness for topographical exegesis. He needed Arculf’s status as an eye-

witness to the geography and miracles in the Holy Land as a living authority to the scriptural problems that Adomnán was trying to address. For early medieval audiences, the combined evidence of Holy Scripture, the authority of the church fathers, and the stories from an eyewitness like Arculf, meant the theological problems addressed by the *De locis sanctis* could effectively be solved by employing all three.

However, Arculf's literary and authoritative role in the text does not preclude his existence as an actual traveler. Adomnán did give specific biographical information about Arculf (though unconfirmed in any other independent source), calling him "holy bishop Arculf, a Gaul by race, experienced in diverse and remote regions."<sup>26</sup> An itinerant bishop or holy man was not as much of an anomaly in the seventh century as it would be later, and there was long-distance trade and communication between Scotland and the Mediterranean, although travel between Ireland and Jerusalem was undoubtedly difficult – a journey of thousands of miles by boat and Roman road. There is archeological evidence that supports contact between Iona and the Continent. Excavations done on the island itself and the surrounding area of southwestern Scotland have found imported pottery from Europe and the Mediterranean, including fragments of E-ware (produced in western or central France in the sixth and seventh centuries) on Iona itself and D-ware (produced around Bordeaux in the fifth and sixth centuries) at Dumbarton, close to Iona in southwestern Scotland.<sup>27</sup> Additionally, in the *Life of Columba*, Adomnán mentioned Gallic sailors arriving at Iona with news of a disaster (likely a volcano) in Italy near Rome.<sup>28</sup> The dissemination of Christian ideas took place over both long and short distances through networks composed of biological kin (blood relations no matter their physical location), spiritual kin (such as monastic brethren), or hierarchal bonds of loyalty (between kings and holy men). These heterogeneous connections, whether factually true or not, depended on the networks through which they were disseminated.

Other scholars have long used Arculf as an example of long-distance trade between Ireland and the Mediterranean in the seventh century.<sup>29</sup> While we should not take this text as literally as some historians have done by plotting the route of Arculf on modern maps and seeking to find evidence of trade, *De locis sanctis* permits us to get a sense of the connections between these two distant places during the seventh century. Adomnán knew about the new rulers of Palestine, calling them Saracens, although whether he knew that they were followers of a new Abrahamic religion that was neither Christian nor Jewish is debatable.<sup>30</sup> Adomnán never explicitly makes it clear that the Saracens are non-Christian, but he seems not to distinguish between racial and religious categories. When discussing Jews, he makes the distinction between "believing Jews" or "Christian Jews" and "infidel Jews," with Jews being a general, perhaps ethnic term, for those living in Palestine. Saracens are not Jews by Adomnán's definition. He did know that these Saracens built a house of worship on the place where the old Temple had stood that was capable of holding 3,000 people. Adomnán called it a *domus orationis*, a direct quotation from Matthew 21:13 that Jesus used to describe

the Temple Mount after he had turned over the tables of the money-changers. Adomnán also knew the name of the king of the Saracens, calling him Mavias, that is, Mu'awiya I (caliph 661–680). He related the story of Mu'awiya's mediation of a dispute between the "Christian Jews" and the "infidel Jews" over the relic of Jesus' shroud, which had been found three years before.<sup>31</sup> Adomnán put the entire story into the mouth of Arculf as a quotation. While certainly Adomnán could have had other written or oral sources for his contemporary, albeit imperfect, knowledge of seventh-century Palestine, it seems rather a circuitous route for Adomnán to have told us that his source was a traveler named Arculf. The fact that information in this story is slightly garbled and incomplete supports the idea that Adomnán supplemented his exegesis with the memories and understandings, sometimes contradictory, awestruck, or simply incorrect, of a religious traveler named Arculf whose holy journeys brought him power and authority in the minds of his medieval audience. This contestation of the sacred was one in which the authors and audiences had to grapple with the dichotomy of biblical truth versus the lived experiences of travelers, which might be very different, with challenges based on local political circumstance.

Adomnán's purpose in writing the *De locis sanctis* was not to show the reality of this type of travel, but to connect himself and his monastery to the places of the Bible; Arculf as a traveler was just one of the means by which he tried to do so. Some details in the *De locis sanctis* about the monuments of the Holy Land that are not part of the author's exegetical agenda are likely details from the memories of Arculf the traveling bishop. For instance, the text described the details of the eight lamps that hang in the Church of the Ascension, stating their precise placement and the effect of seeing them from a distance.<sup>32</sup> While Adomnán did eventually use the lamps in the church as a metaphor for the light of Christ pouring into the hearts of the faithful, the exactness of their placement was unnecessary to the theology. This seems to be the awed description of a religious traveler; Adomnán even confirmed Arculf's story in his description of the Church of the Ascension, saying that "our friend Arculf's account then [is]... perfectly in accordance with the writings of others."<sup>33</sup> Arculf's eyewitness status combined with the authorities of books was for Adomnán the highest expression of the power of his own text. While Adomnán himself did not travel to Jerusalem, he was a part of a culture of movement which valued travel as a valid form of religious expression. While previous scholars have accepted Adomnán's story about Arculf since it fits the modern idea about reliable sources, the *De locis sanctis* is a work of theological literature.

Within Adomnán's works, Iona was portrayed as both isolated from the world as a spiritual retreat and connected to it through a variety of geographical, spiritual, and cultural networks. Given the connections between southwestern Scotland and northern England with western Gaul and the Mediterranean in the material record, it is possible that Iona did have a Gallic visitor who visited the Holy Land. Whether a real or imagined traveler, his biography as a traveling holy man leant spiritual

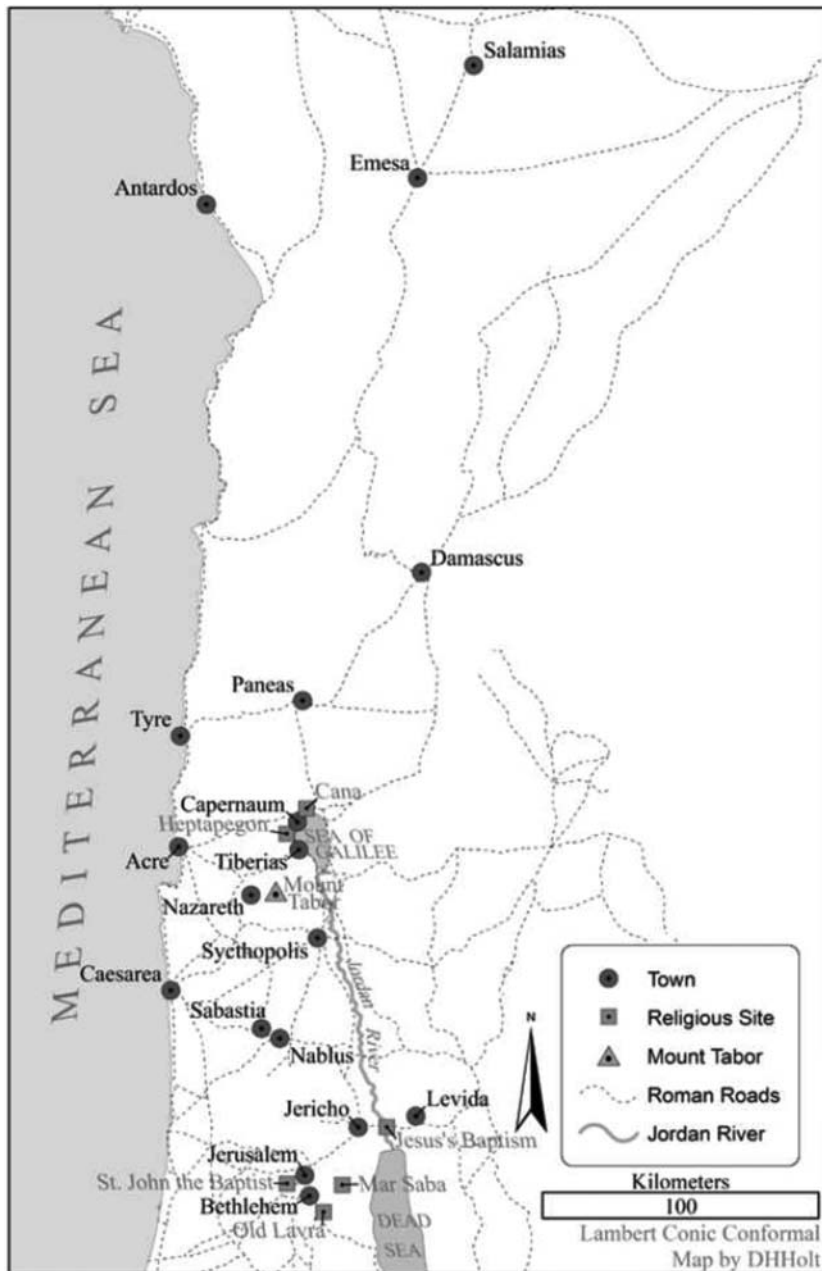
authority the exegetical works of Adomnán and Bede. This perceived long-distance movement, which paralleled real movement of ships and amphorae in the archaeological record, allowed medieval people to derive physical and imaginative meaning and power from both their holy books and the world around them. The cultural and religious ideology of the theological works provides context for the real and imagined connections of the northern European world with that of the eastern Mediterranean.

### **Locals and foreigners in the Levant**

The visual maps and exegetical sources from early medieval Europe regarding the Holy Land had theological aims that integrated the imagined and the real location of Jerusalem to reveal the *mentalité* of early medieval authors and audiences. Correspondingly, sources about western pilgrims to the Holy Land in the period engaged with the real and experiential nature of medieval religious travel to demonstrate both a physical and mental landscape of long-distance travel and connection with the Mediterranean.

The cultural context of this religious travel was not static, but historians have struggled to describe change over time in both monasticism and pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the early medieval period. The conventional wisdom has held that the seventh century was a turning point in which the political and military upheavals in Palestine, from the Persian Sasanian wars to the Muslim takeover, upended the international pilgrimage routes of the Roman and Byzantine periods.<sup>34</sup> This scholarship concluded that the greater, though not absolute, isolation of the Holy Land from the other regions of the former Roman Empire, had dried up the streams of foreign pilgrims who had populated the Levantine monastic institutions, forcing monks to rely on the more meager resources available locally.<sup>35</sup> Recently, this “extra-regional hypothesis” of Palestinian pilgrimage and monasticism has been challenged by incorporating archaeological and epigraphical material into the traditional narrative given by hagiographical sources, providing an important contrast to the vision of monastic life given in the stories of the saints and ascetics of Palestine.<sup>36</sup> If the economic and social connections of local religious life in Palestine are extracted from hagiographical texts to explain region-wide socio-economic trends, both the localized developments of monasticism and its cultural contexts are ignored. Using both textual and material culture makes for a more balanced view, instead of one that favors homogeneity rather than the heterogeneous and diverse reality that characterized early medieval religious life throughout Christendom.<sup>37</sup> The hagiography of western travelers is an essential source for understanding this complicated sacred space, but to use hagiography well, the stories cannot simply be read by seeking a kernel of truth. While analysis of saints’ lives offers insight into physical travel between one place and another, hagiography must be accepted as the fiction that it is, analyzed as a product of its culture, and contextualized with evidence from material culture.

To demonstrate the contestation of the sacred in early medieval Jerusalem, with all its vibrancy and messiness, it is necessary to look at both hagiography



Map 2.1 Holy Land pilgrimage sites.  
Source: David H. Holt.

and material culture. These were products of the real and the imaginative lives of religious travelers to the Holy Land, and the Frankish audiences of both the texts and objects before and after this seventh-century turning point in the eastern Mediterranean. For the sixth century, the work hagiographers like Gregory of Tours and Venantius Fortunatus and the important contact relics brought back from the eastern Mediterranean demonstrate a Holy Land that is distant but whose borders could be crossed easily by the faithful through the personal networks of travelers and those who sponsored them. After the Muslim conquest, the eighth-century *Life of Willibald* and the new building program of post-Byzantine Jerusalem demonstrate how the continuity of the biblical and imagined landscape of Jerusalem for westerners belied the very real changes in the political and architectural landscape.

Gregory of Tours compiled a work on the holy deeds and deaths of the martyrs, *Glory of the Martyrs*. Part of Gregory's purpose in all of his works was to show the continuous and present working of God in the world of the sixth century. In the case of the *Glory of the Martyrs*, he did so by detailing the miracles of martyrs from the eastern Mediterranean (Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, Greece), the western Mediterranean (Italy and Spain), as well as Gallic martyrs from Lyons, with biography playing a minimal role in the narratives. While the saints may have been foreign to his Frankish audience, the miracles were not, and many of the stories had Gallic or Frankish recipients of miracles, either abroad or at a local relic shrine to the martyr-saint. Significantly, there was not a single mention of Britain or other northern European regions; Gregory's view of sanctity is exclusively Mediterranean in the *Glory of the Martyrs*. These miracles integrated the world of Mediterranean Christianity and its biblical and patristic holiness with the developing Christian communities in the north through miracles.

As the bishop of Tours, Gregory often instigated travel by others on his and the diocese's behalf. These travelers, deacons and priests mostly, were part of a network of people whom Gregory sent abroad. His hagiographical accounts were about the miracles that occurred far from his diocese at Tours and his hometown of Clermont in the Auvergne. They were often recounted based upon journeys by friends, fellow clerics, or even fictional travelers to the Mediterranean shrines. For the most part, the travelers were goal-oriented pilgrims, many journeying to the Holy Land for healing, relic-collection, or simple piety. One main source for Gregory's tales of miracles was his own deacon, a man named Johannes, who departed from Gaul as a leper. This Johannes traveled to Palestine and was said to have been healed of his disease in the River Jordan. When in Jerusalem, he received relics of the Virgin Mary. Much of Gregory's information about the Holy Land stemmed from Johannes' first-hand account of his pilgrimage there, although he did not always mention Johannes by name within each chapter.

When Gregory described the healing properties of the bodies of water in the Holy Land, he mentioned lepers being healed at the hot springs near Livias (now Tel er-Rameh, Israel), twelve miles from Jericho.<sup>38</sup> The efficacy of the River Jordan for healing leprosy was well known in the sixth century with both the pilgrim itinerary *De Situ Terrae Sanctae* by the Byzantine archdeacon Theodosius<sup>39</sup> and the

itinerary of the Italian Piacenza pilgrim describing the situation of the lepers who lived near the river hoping to be cured. As the Piacenza pilgrim described:

Near there is a city which is called Salamiada [Livias], where two halves of the tribes of Israel stayed before they crossed the Jordan. In that place there are hot springs, which are named after Moses from that washing. There also the lepers are cleansed. And there is a spring there with the sweetest water, which is drunk as a laxative; it heals fatigue and many things. It is not far from the Dead Sea which the Jordan flows into, below Sodom and Gomorrah. Sulfur and bitumen are collected on its shore. The lepers lie in the sea all day in the months of July and August, and half of September. In the evening, they wash in these baths of Moses. And at different times, if god wills it, one is cleansed. And for most of them it is soothing to some extent.<sup>40</sup>

For the sick whose skin was soothed by the salty waters of the Dead Sea and the hot springs, this was a miracle indeed. Gregory of Tours reported the same:

As a matter of fact, at one bend, the water in which lepers are now cleansed swirls around. For when the lepers have arrived, they are bathed frequently in the water until they are cleansed of their illness. While they wait there, they are kept at public expense; once healed, they return to their own homes.<sup>41</sup>

Since the text earlier explained that Johannes was healed of leprosy at the river Jordan, this account likely came from the deacon. This pilgrimage to treat leprosy overcame the long-distance geographical barriers between Tours and Jerusalem, but equally important to Gregory's audience would have been the vertical connection to God that such a journey facilitated. The holy places of the Bible connected Johannes and his fellow sufferers with Christ's life and the events of the Old and New Testaments. The long journey that ended with spiritual and physical proximity with the divine enhanced the holiness of the recipient of the miracles. Indeed, the whole point of pilgrimage in this context was to connect religious and spiritual feelings and acts with concrete geographical locations, giving the places power to make the holy stories real and providing a conduit for God's forgiveness and healing. The audience listening to the account of the healing was allowed to connect with God through the tale of long-distance pilgrimage.

In addition to seeking healing in the Holy Land, Johannes was also a tourist, visiting not just the place where Jesus was baptized for relief from his disease, but also Christ's birthplace in Bethlehem. Johannes' journey was reminiscent of that of Arculf from Adomnán's *De locis sanctis*, though Johannes (unlike Arculf) went to the Holy Land seeking healing from leprosy. The narratives share similar elements of "religious tourism," which is distinct from pilgrimage. In religious tourism, individuals visit religious attractions because they are sacred; in pilgrimage, individuals engage in a journey to a sacred places as an act of religious devotion.<sup>42</sup> While there is considerable

overlap, by visiting not just a site of healing, but also various other points of religious interest, the narratives about Johannes and Arculf both demonstrate the travelers' desire to seeking out the holy places for their own sake, telling stories about them that included both miracles and geographical information. While the ostensible intent of the two authors was different, as Gregory sought to tell stories of the miracles of the martyrs and Adomnán to produce a work of biblical exegesis, each author endeavored to connect the holy places of Palestine with his own local milieu to make the topography of the Holy Land accessible.

In these narratives, the figures of both Arculf and Johannes met fellow religious travelers while in the Holy Land. Arculf encountered a hermit named Peter of Burgundy in Nazareth with whom he stayed for two nights before he was hurried away so that Peter might go back to his solitary existence.<sup>43</sup> While in Bethlehem, Johannes visited a well where the Virgin Mary had supposedly drawn water. Christian tourists looked into the well, and local legend had it that the star that had appeared to Mary would appear to the pure of heart. When Gregory reported the story, he said that "recently, however, my deacon reported that he, with five other men, had looked, but the star had appeared to only two of them."<sup>44</sup> Johannes met up with like-minded travelers along the way; while we cannot know the origin of Johannes's companions, there was apparently a fellowship of religious travelers who visited the same "tourist spots" seeking access to the divine.<sup>45</sup>

Fellow religious travelers in foreign lands connected with one another across the barriers of distance and culture through a shared journey to the Holy Land and a shared faith in the importance of such a trip. Both Gregory of Tours and Adomnán saw eye-witness travelers as necessary to their textual authority, but they also had to be backed up by appropriate biblical and patristic sources. For instance, Gregory of Tours related the story of the statue of Christ at Paneas, a city near the source of the Jordan River (now Banias, Syria). Describing the miraculous qualities of the statue, Gregory used a quotation from Eusebius of Caesarea.<sup>46</sup> While this may indicate that Gregory had no direct source for stories about the statue, it was a standard early medieval literary device to use the words of church fathers as an authoritative source, even if other witnesses were available. Gregory did not mention Johannes by name in this section, but he did reveal that he had "heard from many people who have seen [the statue that] there is a marvelous brightness in its face."<sup>47</sup> Whether Gregory valued this story because it was supported by Eusebius or by the many unnamed witnesses, the audience's perception of the importance of long-distance connectivity and the holiness of these distant locations was enhanced by multiple reliable sources.

For the audience, the stories gained their power from their association with both the physical travel of pilgrims and from the spiritual world of biblical association and metaphor and patristic authority. Whether the journey was made by friends, fellow clerics, or fictional travelers (of which Johannes and Arculf could be one or all), the Mediterranean shrines were destinations for



goal-oriented religious travelers looking for healing, relic-collection, and pious adventures. For the audience, who were Franks who were seeking to make the imagined journey to Jerusalem through narrative, Jerusalem was a metaphor and a real place. Such audiences looked for Gregory of Tours to remind them of the presence of miracles in the world or for Adomnán to explain the Bible through geography. Travel of others, whether actual people or composites, real or imagined, was a sign of the charisma of distant places, in which sacred space exerted power beyond everyday social or religious routines.

While some foundational scholarship on pilgrimage has focused on the positive views of travel and interaction, in the sixth-century narratives from Merovingian Gaul, the point was not necessarily to interact with local people.<sup>48</sup> If western religious travelers did so at all, it is nearly invisible in the sources. The seventh century, despite the so-called “end” of international pilgrimage and monasticism, continued this view of religious travel for audiences and authors. One change was that the contestation of the sacred between western travelers and locals, Byzantine Christian and Sunni Muslim alike, was even more present in the real-and-imagined narratives of saints’ journeys. In the saints’ lives from the eighth century, Muslims and Byzantines were everywhere, which was a difference between these narratives and the earlier *vitae* and exegetical literature. This was one way in which the imagined landscape of the Holy Land was different for actual travelers than for the Frankish audiences of the text, the latter of whom were concerned with historical and theological ideas rather than the contemporary conditions of the Holy Land.

An account of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land which exemplifies these competing ideas is the *Life of Willibald* (written ca. 776–786). Adomnán’s *De locis sanctis* was less an account of a pilgrimage than a theological treatise and Gregory of Tours’ *Glory of the Martyrs* was a collection on the deeds of holy men rather than an account of a journey. In contrast, the narrative about Willibald was written neither as exegesis nor as a standard saint’s life, but as a *hodoeporicon*, an itinerary or a relation of a voyage, which described the journey of Willibald from England to the Holy Land in the fourth chapter of the saint’s life.<sup>49</sup> In a source that is defined as a travel narrative, the power of religious movement for the author and the audience was embedded in the genre itself. While travel in this didactic fiction was linked to real travel in some way to make the stories and miracles both edifying and plausible, in the *hodoeporicon*, the imagined holiness and power from distant places and the real authenticity of physical travel paralleled one another directly, making this a clearer source of the geographic reality of early medieval travel, while still retaining its metaphorical and rhetorical significance.

The *Life of Willibald* was composed between 776 and 786 by an Anglo-Saxon nun named Huneberc who recounted the travels of men she knew personally, Willibald, bishop of Eichstätt and his brother, Wynnebald, abbot of Heidenheim. In a cryptogram in the earliest manuscript of the text,

Huneberc describes herself as a nun of Heidenheim on the border of Bavaria and Alamannia, and a relative of the brothers.<sup>50</sup> Heidenheim was founded by Wynnebald as a double monastery, with the support of Bishop Willibald at Eichstätt, just thirty miles away. After Wynnebald's death, his sister Walberga inherited the leadership of the monastery and brought a group of nuns from England with her to live there, including Huneburc. Huneburc engaged in an extended humility *topos* at the beginning of the work, claiming unworthiness as a Saxon, as a woman, and as a novice, though her proficient Latin and clear rhetoric belie her protestations. Her goal was to describe those things:

which the reverend man Willibald saw with his own eyes and over which he trod with his own feet. And he saw not only those marvels that have been demonstrated to us to be true by the grace of the four Gospels, but also the very places where our Lord was born, where he suffered, and where, having risen from the dead, he appeared to us.<sup>51</sup>

Huneberc acknowledged the revealed truth of the Gospels as absolute but wrote her text to augment that evidence with the eyewitness experiences of Willibald to extend that truth to her contemporary world. The imagined Holy Land, known from the Bible and the church fathers, was then supplemented with the contemporary reality of travel and pilgrimage in the eighth century. These truths:

were deemed worthy to reveal, to make them known in our times, to this servant Willibald through the exertions of his body and the vision of his eyes. We know these things because they were related to us, not by means of the meandering turns of apocryphal stories, but because, having encountered Willibald himself, we resolved to hear them as told to us in dictation from his own mouth and so to write them down.<sup>52</sup>

Huneberc set a great store in hearing the stories of religious travel (and its attendant power and holiness) from Willibald himself, and not second-hand from other sources or witnesses. While she was still writing hagiography, this claim to authenticity from both biblical accounts of the Holy Land and eyewitness reports of the same region demonstrate how important this parallel experience of real and imaginative travel was for her as an author, and also for her original audience.

Previous scholars have put too much stock in Huneberc's claim that she merely wrote down the words of Willibald in dictation. Much like Adomnán's claim to be the amanuensis for Arculf, Huneberc's story about being a stenographer for Willibald does not take into account her education, demonstrated by her sophisticated Latin influenced by Aldhelm.<sup>53</sup> However, there is a dramatic shift in the Latin style in the fourth chapter, in which the complex sentences of the other five chapters shifts, with shorter sentences and simpler structure, similar to the Latin of the Vulgate. James Palmer has interpreted

this stylistic shift in three layers of production; first, a stand-alone *itinerarium* of the Holy Land produced by Willibald himself, second, the as fourth chapter of Huneberc's *Life of Willibald*, and lightly edited by her, and finally, as part of a composite of *vitae* of Anglo-Saxons working on the Continent compiled later.<sup>54</sup> Huneberc was clearly not simply a copyist, but she did use clear hagiographical models for the *Life of Willibald*, including Sulpicius Severus' *Life of Martin* (ca. 397) and the *Life of Boniface*, the latter of which was composed only about a decade before Huneberc's text.<sup>55</sup> However, unlike many other hagiographical texts, Huneberc utilized Willibald's precise words. For instance, when discussing Willibald's visit to the confluence of the Jor and Dan Rivers, she writes that "there, between the two fountains, they passed the night and the shepherds gave us sour milk to drink."<sup>56</sup> The first-person plural indicates not that Huneberc was present, but that she is using the words Willibald himself used while visiting Heidenheim and describing his journey to his audience there.

Heidenheim was a community founded through the kinship networks of Willibald. The first two leaders, Wynnebald and Walberga, were Willibald's siblings, and Huneberc herself was also a relative. Like the foundation, Willibald's kinship networks, both the biological and the spiritual, form the backbone of his religious travels. The saint's spiritual life began in the bosom of an elite Anglo-Saxon kin group; as a child, he was struck by a severe illness and his parents had him blessed, not in a church, but at the foot of a cross that had been erected on their estate. There, they promised that if Willibald survived his illness, they would send him to a monastery to become a monk in thanks. After Willibald recovered, he was taken to the monastery of Waldheim (now Bishop's Waltham in Hampshire) to become a novice. Huneberc declared that as a monk at Waldheim that Willibald wished to forsake not only temporal riches, but also his country, and his relatives by going on pilgrimages to foreign lands.<sup>57</sup> However, Willibald's actual journeys belied his pious expression of *peregrinatio*. Instead of leaving his kin behind to seek foreign exile, Willibald expressly chose to bring his family with him on his journey to the Continent. Indeed, he begged his father's permission for the trip (though not his abbot's). What he actually wanted was not just his father's permission, but his company on the journey. While his father at first declined, saying that he could not leave his wife and small children, Willibald persuaded both his father and his brother Wynnebald to accompany him on a pilgrimage to Rome. Willibald encouraged them using Jesus' exhortation to his disciples to leave family behind to follow him in Luke 14:26, but Willibald himself did not follow this example. It turned out poorly for Willibald's father, who became gravely ill and died in northern Italy; his sons buried him in the Church of St. Priscian in Lucca and continued to Rome. Staying through the winter in Rome, Wynnebald then turned homeward, and Willibald continued towards the Holy Land with other companions, most of whom are not named in the text, except a certain Tidbercht. Tidbercht traveled everywhere with Willibald, journeying through Italy and the eastern

Mediterranean, including stops in Naples, Sicily, Greece, and Asia Minor. Each region was reached in a series of short-range coastal journeys through the eastern Mediterranean, hopping from city to city, island to island.<sup>58</sup> Spending Easter in Cyprus, Willibald then found a ship to take him to Muslim-controlled lands, landing at the port city of Antardos (now Tartus, Syria). While in Muslim territories, Willibald had problems with the local authorities, especially in Syria. In his first landing at Antardos, Willibald lacked a basic necessity of travel: letters of introduction and permission. Wandering without a letter of introduction might get a pilgrim or religious traveler detained as a possible spy or simply a stranger without contacts or networks. The bonds of kinship, patronage, and spiritual affinity were not merely the means for a person to move from place to place; they were the only means of proving one's identity and trustworthiness. Letters of introduction survive in legal formularies from seventh- and eighth-century Francia.<sup>59</sup> They were also part of the legal traditions of the Byzantine Empire and in Islamic law, the latter of which Willibald encountered directly. In Islamic law, an essential portion of development from an oral system to a written one in the eighth and ninth centuries was the creation of *shurūṭ*, or handbooks of legal formularies similar to those in late antique Roman and Byzantine law.<sup>60</sup> The earliest *shurūṭ* have been attributed to the Umayyad jurist Muhammad al-Shaybānī from the mid-eighth century, though the first complete book of formularies is by al-Tahāwī in the late ninth century, which scholars believe preserves earlier oral and written traditions.<sup>61</sup> The most famous of these kinds of Islamic *formulae* is the *Shurūṭ 'Umar*, or the *Pact of 'Umar*, which set out some of the terms for interactions between Muslims and *dhimmī* (non-Muslim "Peoples of the Book") in Syria, often attributed to the seventh-century conquest period, but now thought to be a juridical text from the late eighth or ninth century.<sup>62</sup> The text consists of a formulaic letter from Christian communities to the caliph, beginning, "This is a letter to the servant of God, 'Umar the Commander of the Faithful, from the Christians of 'such-and-such' city."<sup>63</sup> The frame of the *shurūṭ* text, which dictated the terms of the subjugation and legal restrictions on Christians in their own words in letter-form, was a literary construct that was odd in the context of treaties and surrender agreements in the early Middle Ages. However, it was common for other kinds of legal agreements such as letters of recommendation or permissions to travel. There was a space at the end for "confirming" the text, which could mean either signing it or witnessing it orally. The *Shurūṭ 'Umar*, while mostly concerned with local Syrian Christians, did have provisions regarding travelers, including the requirement that Christians keep their gates open for passers-by and travelers. It also required that Christian communities provide three days of food and lodging to any Muslims who passed their way and that no Christian was allowed to give shelter to a spy, either in their churches or their homes.<sup>64</sup> These provisions of the *Shurūṭ 'Umar* were

designed to provide a legal framework for dealing with both local and foreign non-Muslims traveling the countryside in the Holy Land, which was the exact situation that Willibald found himself in upon reaching Syria.

Disembarking at the port of Antardos, Willibald traveled inland to Emesa (modern Homs, Syria), where he and his fellow pilgrims came into conflict with the local rulers and bureaucrats. Willibald and his seven companions:

were strangers and came without credentials [so] they were taken prisoner and held as captives. [The Muslims] knew not to which nation they belonged, and, thinking they were spies, they took them bound to a certain rich old man to find out where they came from.<sup>65</sup>

The old man, presumably bilingual in Latin and either Arabic and/or Greek, questioned Willibald and his seven companions. He told the authorities that he had seen many pilgrims coming from Willibald's northern part of the world. The local governor put them into prison until he could hear from the emir what to do with the strangers who carried no letters of introduction. A Christian merchant wished to redeem them from captivity, but he was unable to persuade the Muslim authorities to release Willibald and his companions. While in prison, a man from Spain (who could have been a Muslim or a Mozarabic Christian, however the text does not say) interrogated them about their nationality and homeland. The Spaniard was connected the court of "Murmumus," the Latinization of the title *Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, or Commander of the Faithful. The local governor, the Spanish courtier, and the captain of the Cypriot ship the pilgrims had sailed on all testified to the emir about the prisoners. The emir accepted that they were merely pilgrims and let them out of prison after fining each of them three measures of corn. Once Willibald went before the emir, he needed witnesses (such as the ship captain) to verify that he came from where he claimed and that he traveled for a religious purpose. Letters of introduction to long-distance networks of communication and exchange provided reasonable evidence that a foreigner might be trusted, no matter his religion. Finally, the emir permitted them to continue their journey, and the group traveled to Damascus, eventually making their way to Jerusalem.

The city of Jerusalem itself was described in archaic terms in the *Life of Willibald*, with a focus on the sites of the Old and New Testaments, rather than the new buildings built by the current Muslim rulers of the city. Recent excavations in Jerusalem have revealed that the extensive network of Christian monasteries and agricultural farms established during the Byzantine period continued to flourish in the early Islamic period.<sup>66</sup> The period has been identified with substantial new building programs by Muslim rulers on the Temple Mount/Haram el-Sharīf, including the construction of the Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqṣā Mosque and four monumental palaces or administrative centers founded during Umayyad rule.<sup>67</sup> This marked a major urban

change that shifted the focus of the city from the Church of the Holy Sepulcher to the Temple Mount, a renewal of the religious function of the area and a dramatic change in the urban layout and skyline. However, the Temple Mount area was the only place in the city that demonstrated significant change in urban design as a result of the new Muslim rulers. Private urban dwellings and Christian religious institutions, both within the city walls and beyond the gates of the Jerusalem, maintained continuity with the Byzantine period. They even expanded, with new churches, monasteries, and hospices established, mainly north of the Damascus Gate and on the slope of the Mount of Olives east of the walls.<sup>68</sup> There was a general continuity of the main grid of the city, and the shrine of the Holy Sepulcher was not damaged in either the Sasanian Persian nor the Muslim conquests of the city in the seventh century. There were also new building programs of Christian communities in the newly-designated Christian quarter and outside the city walls during the seventh through tenth centuries. Given this archaeological evidence, the local Christian community in Jerusalem was stronger than scholars have often acknowledged. This is mirrored in the *Life of Willibald*, which ignored any changes by Muslims to the city itself, only commenting on or coming into contact with the new rulers of the Holy Land when Willibald needed travel documents.

Willibald traveled the Holy Land in circuits, and on his fourth approach into Jerusalem, he passed through Emesa (Homs) again and needed a new letter of safe conduct through the emir's lands. The emir was not in the city because of a pestilence, and so Willibald and his companions stayed in Salamias (now al-Salamiyah, Syria), thirty miles outside the city to wait for the emir and his court to return. Eventually, the pilgrims and the local governor returned to Emesa, who gave them "a letter for every two persons. They could not travel there in company, but only two by two, because in this way it was easier for them to provide food for themselves."<sup>69</sup> Being able to acquire food and lodging (as well as not taxing the hospitality of the various ecclesiastical and secular institutions which provided for travelers) was a key component of the regulation of religious travelers such as Willibald and his brethren. Controlling access to important locations, such as the tower of Lebanon, which the text says was on a promontory between Ptolemais (Acre) and Tyre. Visiting the site required visitors to have the safe conduct on hand to climb the summit, which was guarded and closed. "If anyone comes without a pass, the citizens arrest him immediately and send him back to Tyre."<sup>70</sup> Willibald by this point had learned how to navigate the Muslim bureaucracies for travel documents and had the necessary *carta*.

This bureaucratic expertise paid off during his final exit from the Holy Land traveling to Constantinople. Willibald and his companions succeeded in a risky smuggling gambit, getting around the Muslim authorities in Tyre. In Jerusalem, Willibald had filled a dried gourd with balsam, or "balm of Gilead," the resin from the *commiphora gileadensis* tree, used in medicine and

perfumery in the ancient and medieval world. He then inserted a hollow reed with a bottom, filling that with a petroleum-based mineral oil (*petre olea*).

When they reached the city of Tyre, the citizens arrested them, put them in chains, and examined all their baggage to find out if they had hidden any contraband. If they had found anything they would certainly have punished them and put them to death. But when they had thoroughly scrutinized everything and could find nothing but one gourd that Willibald had, they opened it and sniffed at it to find out what was inside. And when they smelt mineral oil, which was inside the reed at the top, they did not find the balsam that was inside the gourd underneath the mineral oil, and so let them go.<sup>71</sup>

Willibald's smuggling operation was likely for personal use; the source does not indicate that he intended to sell the balsam, but probably wanted the rare resin for himself and his community, where it might be used as panacea, as it was thought to treat everything from digestive issues when ingested, to respiratory ailments when applied topically, to menstrual or fertility problems.<sup>72</sup> The economic value of such an item coincided with its practical value as a medicine. However, this medicinal value was not simply because of its real-world chemical properties, but also the belief in its efficacy, which was tied to its status as a substance produced only in the Holy Land that had to be imported from long distances and via nefarious means by pilgrims. The global trade in precious and sacred materials was not separate from religious travel; it was pilgrims and holy men who engaged in this trade, gift exchange, and simple importation for their own or their community's use.

Long-distance travelers such as Willibald experienced the connections with their fellow travelers and the connection to the divine that the proximity to holy places brought. The experiences such people and places were ones of heterogeneous and contested religious movements, especially when placed in the local culture in Palestine. Most importantly, what these Mediterranean religious destinations provided to travelers was authenticity and continuity within the Christian tradition, which stretched back to late antique religious pilgrims and would continue forward throughout the Middle Ages.

### **Holy Land relics**

Much like the balsam imported by Willibald, the movement of religious objects, specifically secondary relics or contact relics, is connected to pilgrimage and the movement of religious people. These are objects such as oil, water, cloth, or other items that have been in contact with the primary relic of the body of a saint or, in the case of Jerusalem, the sacred spaces of the life of Christ. These holy objects that traveled demonstrate a confluence between physical, material places and imagined or idealized places, as they are both

real objects that traveled long distances, but also symbolic and imaginative representations of holy places. While such objects were often made of materials that have been lost over time, certain kinds of contact relics have been preserved in the archaeological record. By substituting possession for travel, relics provided connecting links to distant holy places through material, highly moveable objects, which made them feel closer and literally at hand.<sup>73</sup>

Gregory of Tours described the creation of such contact relics in Jerusalem, saying that:

marvelous power appears from the tomb where the Lord's body lay. Often the ground is covered with a natural radiant brightness; then it is sprinkled with water and dug up, and from it, tiny [clay] tokens are shaped and sent to different parts of the world. Often ill people are cured by means of these tokens.<sup>74</sup>

Called *eulogia* (blessing) tokens, they were made from clay and terracotta. Hundreds survive from the early medieval period, with a large collection of about eighty from Syria and Palestine now held in the British Museum, and many others scattered in museums across the world.<sup>75</sup> Such objects were highly portable, circulating across Christendom in the luggage and pockets of travelers of all types along the sea-lanes and road networks that carried pilgrims, merchants, and diplomats, exchanged between patrons, friends, and kin groups. *Eulogia* were real objects that traveled. Their symbolism linked them to the horizontal power of the distant Holy Land and the vertical power to the heavenly Jerusalem as representations of the real-and-imagined religious travel of objects and the people who carried them.

*Ampullae*, small flasks to hold holy water and oil, have been found throughout the early medieval Mediterranean, with well-known ceramic examples emanating from the shrine of St. Menas (Abu Mina) in Egypt<sup>76</sup> and from Asia Minor.<sup>77</sup> Ceramic *ampullae* were also manufactured in Jerusalem throughout the early medieval period both before and after the Arab conquest, although as yet no kilns have been found in the city.<sup>78</sup> Still, in contrast to most household ceramics, *ampullae* and oil lamps were manufactured using molds, indicating a level of mass production, as well as providing a means to track different types. Intact mold-made ceramic *ampullae* have been excavated in Jerusalem, dated to the seventh or early eighth century.<sup>79</sup> Made from yellow-brown to greenish pottery, they were decorated with patterns of raised dots and lines, similar in decoration and color to oil lamps, indicating that it was a local Jerusalem type.<sup>80</sup> In one instance, archaeologists have found *eulogia* tokens and an *ampulla* from the sixth century together. Petrographic analysis of the clay indicates that they were made at Scythopolis (now Bet She'an), a city at the junction of the Jordan River Valley and the Jazeel River valley.<sup>81</sup> Scythopolis was the intersection of two international Roman roads, one running from the Caesarea on the Mediterranean coast to Aila (now Aqaba) on the Red Sea, the other down the Jordan River Valley. The items



were excavated from a shop on a major thoroughfare through the city, indicating the economic utility of such items for locals selling such tokens. During the early medieval period, there was a rotunda church on top of the local tel, perhaps dedicated to local martyr Basilius, and contact relics, including *eulogia* tokens and *ampullae*, were sold to pilgrims and Christian travelers.<sup>82</sup>

These relatively simple and cheap ceramic versions can be contrasted with the more lavish versions cast from pewter and lead found in the Monza-Bobbio group.

These were stamped with scenes from life of Christ.<sup>83</sup> These scenes were varied, including standard scenes such as the Annunciation. The *eulogia*, or blessings that these relics conferred were related to these images.<sup>84</sup> For instance, a woman trying to become pregnant might invoke the Blessed Virgin in her prayers, and a relic of holy oil with an image of the Annunciation would connect her with both the holy event of the bible and the geographical place where the miracle took place, crossing mental and physical distances through material and visual media. An image that might have spoken to any religious traveler was an *ampulla* that depicted Jesus calming the Sea of Galilee, which for a pilgrim or traveler would invoke the power of Christ for a dangerous journey in both the traveler's visual imagination and in the material object he or she had purchased in the Holy Land containing a piece of that place. While it is difficult to trace the material history of the Bobbio-



*Figure 2.3* Monza Ampulla, “Tempest Calmed”.

*Source:* Image courtesy of the Museum of the Monastery of Bobbio, Italy.

Monza *ampullae*, they were brought from Jerusalem to Italy in the sixth century, and they were said to have been acquired by Gregory the Great and given to Queen Theodelinda of the Lombards as part of the Lombards' conversion to Roman Christianity from the Arian heresy. No matter the precise provenance of either the metal *ampullae* or the few terracotta fragments of *eulogia* tokens found in the Bobbio collection, these objects collected in Lombard Italy served to connect elites with the places of the Bible, a powerful imaginative and material connection. In the case of contact relics, physical objects that traveled had more spiritual than material value. In these objects, the power and holiness of sacred places was memorialized and transmitted through visual and material means.

Significant numbers of the relics venerated in early medieval Rome were not Roman at all, but from the Holy Land, including many of the treasures of the Sancta Sanctorum (the chapel of St. Laurence in the Lateran Palace). The Lateran Palace was built in the late fourth century near the Lateran Basilica, dedicated to the Holy Savior and John the Baptist. The Lateran complex therefore held many of the papal relics associated with the life of Christ, including the Scala Sancta (Holy Stairs) and the relics inside the altar of the chapel, including those placed there by Pope Leo III (795–816) inside a cypress wood chest, opened for the first time since the Middle Ages in 1905 for scholarly study.<sup>85</sup> The Sancta Sanctorum contained many objects whose provenance can be traced to the Holy Land. Of the datable labels for the relics, a remarkable 62.5% pertain to Holy Land sites (the life of Jesus, Virgin Mary, Old Testament figures, and New Testament figures) and only 15% come from Roman martyrs, a proportion that is exceptionally high when compared to other European relic collections.<sup>86</sup> One of the treasures of the Sancta Sanctorum was a wooden box with a sliding lid filled stones from the Holy Land. Each was labeled, encased in plaster, and the top of the box had images that depicted the critical events of Jesus' life (Nativity, Christ's Baptism, Crucifixion, Holy Women at the Tomb, and the Ascension).<sup>87</sup> These images corresponded with the stones that were said to have been collected at the holy sites. The reliquary box itself originated in sixth-century Palestine based not only on the artistic style, but also on the representation in the image of the Holy Women at the Tomb of the Holy Sepulchre. It depicted the Holy Sepulchre as it had been before significant modifications were made in the seventh century.<sup>88</sup>

The earliest textual mention of the relics of the Sancta Sanctorum was in the twelfth century; the numerous objects in that catalog match closely to the twentieth-century archaeological material, much of it dating from the fifth through eighth centuries. These include carved ivory and precious metal objects, *pyxides* (cylindrical boxes used as reliquaries), textiles from Persia and Byzantium, a diptych portrait of Peter and Paul, the wooden reliquary box filled with stones from the holy land, and numerous *brandea* (small cloths) of silk and linen, pouches and boxes holding various kinds of matter (animal, vegetable, and mineral), and papyrus and parchment envelopes and

scraps, some labeled, others not.<sup>89</sup> More objects in the collection date to the ninth century, including those donated by Pope Pascal I (817–24) such as silver cross reliquaries and Byzantine textiles. An enameled cross-shaped reliquary box depicts the infancy of Christ, said to hold relics of the True Cross inscribed “I beseech you, my sovereign, Queen of the World, to accept this sign of the cross that is offered to you by Bishop Pascal.”<sup>90</sup> While Rome was an excellent source of relics of the martyrs, Jerusalem and the objects associated with the life and death of Christ were some of the holiest artifacts in the minds of Christians, coming from a revered place, Jerusalem. The relics and reliquaries from the Holy Land were used in Rome in the liturgy in the Sancta Sanctorum chapel throughout the medieval period.<sup>91</sup> While there is much more to be said on the role of religious travel to Rome in the early medieval period, in this case, even Romans, surrounded by tombs of the martyrs as locations of the holy, were drawn to the power and holiness of the Holy Land. Religious value from objects and people from other holy places still affected even Rome with the charisma of distant places.

The most important secondary relics of the Holy Land were, of course, the fragments of the True Cross. The veneration of the physical remains of the cross itself began early in the fourth century, and were later combined with legend about discovery of the cross by Helena, mother of Emperor Constantine.<sup>92</sup> Like all relics and the miracles they performed, the question of whether the many bits of wood and dust purported to be Christ’s cross were “real” or whether the miracles were “true” is immaterial for understanding the *mentalité* of early medieval people. For them, material objects allowed them to traverse an imagined horizontal landscape to be closer to the sacred places of Christ’s life, death, and resurrection. This, in turn, allowed people to ascend the vertical axis to become closer to God, mediated by the power of both the relic’s material immediacy and the power of the geographical distance crossed. These real-and-imagined journeys were both spiritually and temporally powerful for all who witnessed or facilitated them.

One of the most important real-and-imagined connections between Jerusalem and Francia was mediated in just this way by the queen and nun, Radegund of Poitiers (520–87). Radegund, who did not travel to the Eastern Mediterranean herself, sent her male clerical envoys to Jerusalem and Constantinople seeking the relics of the True Cross on her behalf, bringing them back to Francia to her monastic foundation at Poitiers, which became a northern location of the holy in her Chapel of the Holy Cross. The sources for this trip were two *vitae* of Radegund. The first was written by the poet and cleric Venantius Fortunatus, bishop of Poitiers, just after the saint’s death in 587; he also wrote poems and hymns on the subject. The second book was composed by Baudonivia, a nun of Radegund’s foundation, between 609–614.<sup>93</sup> While there has been some excellent work illuminating the differences between these two works, each author shows Radegund as both the actor and instigator of connectivity between geographically distant places.<sup>94</sup>

Radegund was famous as the daughter of the conquered royal house of Thuringia, forced into a political marriage with the Frankish king Chlothar I. Her kin, including her betrothed husband Chlothar, ignored her early vocation for the religious life, as she was far too important a marital prize to be allowed to join a convent. The marriage was not a successful one; her saint's lives claim that she was too pious and humble for the life of a queen. The marriage was dissolved, and Radegund took vows for the religious life. After her consecration, Radegund stayed within the lands of her former husband, moving south to visit different hermits and "from there her fortunate sails approached Tours."<sup>95</sup> Whether she indeed came by boat, or her biographer Venantius is simply using a nautical metaphor for travel, Radegund continued her journey onwards to the royal villa of Saix, a property owned by her former husband and king in the Loire valley between Tours and Poitiers. There the saint performed ascetic feats and miracles, including healing a traveling woman who came from Austrasia to Poitiers into the saint's presence and curing another woman by the laying of hands.<sup>96</sup> Finally, the former queen moved to Poitiers, founding her monastery within the walls of the city itself on land that belonged to her former husband. These marital kinship ties were integral in the connections that Radegund facilitated both before and after her consecration and her foundation of the convent at Poitiers.

After her ostensible rejection of royal public life, she stayed in her monastery, even at times enclosing herself within a small cell.<sup>97</sup> This does not mean that she rejected the networks of kinship, including biological ties from her native Thuringia and fictive kin, both marital and spiritual, in which she had been immersed her entire life. On the contrary, to found and endow her monastery, Radegund relied on a variety of contacts in both the secular and ecclesiastical world. Her monastery was built initially on her husband Chlothar's land. In addition to royal patronage, Radegund also had an extensive network of episcopal patronage from bishops around Frankish Gaul.<sup>98</sup> To gain the relic of the True Cross, she reached out to her Thuringian cousin Amalafrid, living in Constantinople, to help facilitate the exchange.<sup>99</sup> These communication networks were not hindered by the fact that Radegund did not personally make the journeys; the travel was made possible by the saint.

Radegund's acquisition of relics of the True Cross in 568 was an impressive act of religious, political, and personal connectivity on several levels. In the first place, it linked northern Gaul, the city of Poitiers, and her monastery in particular, to the life of Christ, a profound act for any medieval person. Radegund was seeking to make this kind of specific religious connection through the cross itself, repeatedly sending her agents to Jerusalem and all the shores of the East looking for a relic of the cross. Baudonivia confirmed that Radegund sponsored two expeditions to the eastern Mediterranean, the first to Jerusalem (a logical starting place) where the hagiographer says the finger bone of the martyr Mamas of Caesarea was obtained. Since the relics of Mamas were not in Jerusalem, this story is likely Baudonivia's explanation of the presence of the relics of Mamas at Radegund's foundation conflated with

the first (unsuccessful) Poitevin expedition to the East seeking the True Cross.<sup>100</sup> For the medieval person, the search for the relic served as a link to Christ himself and incontrovertible evidence of the religious connection between Francia and the places and events of the Gospels. The real travel of people seeking the relics of the true cross made them holy by association. Those who came in contact with those relics, either at home or abroad, were likewise given a measure of power and authority by association.

Secondly, in addition to the religious and geographical connection that the acquisition the relics provided, Radegund's request linked in a practical and political manner, the Frankish court of Sigebert I (her former husband Chlothar and his successor Charibert had died in 561 and 567, respectively) and the Byzantine court of Justin II and Sophia in a very practical manner: the exchange of envoys and gifts.<sup>101</sup> The saint activated a connection between Francia and the Byzantine Empire with her requests for relics.<sup>102</sup> Radegund stimulated existing contacts between the two empires, but used those connections to her own ends, elevating her status as well as that of her royal kin group and her monastery. Gift-bearing ambassadors have a long history, from the ancient world through the modern period, and gifts between leaders have symbolic weight. When one party gives a gift of perceived greater magnitude, it influences the power dynamic between the parties. While the exchange and gifting of relics is a particularly medieval phenomenon, for the Frankish and Byzantine rulers, the symbolic value of a piece of the True Cross was inestimable.<sup>103</sup> Both parties understood this value, and it stayed constant throughout the early medieval period, as the gift was repeated in 811 when the Byzantine Patriarch Nicephorus I sent a decorated reliquary with a fragment of the cross in it to Pope Leo III.<sup>104</sup> Since the discovery of the cross by Empress Helena in the fourth century established a solid provenance for all cross fragments emanating from Constantinople, it was a relatively frequent practice for the emperors to distribute pieces of the True Cross, housed in Byzantine-made reliquaries, to foreign kings and Christian dignitaries. The Byzantines used the cross as reward or a carrot to encourage orthodoxy in line with the eastern church, legitimize individual rulers or dynasties, and confer political authority, sealed by the holiest relic in Christendom.<sup>105</sup>

Radegund's role in promoting this political and religious exchange is evidence of the role high-status holy women played in connecting the distant locales to one another with real items of symbolic value, such as relics, which involved actual physical movement of messengers and ambassadors. These ambassadors brought and received gifts, some tangible and others not, such as the poems of greeting and thanks by Venantius Fortunatus sent with the Frankish embassy to Constantinople. Venantius Fortunatus was well-versed in this ideology, as his poem of thanks to Justin II and Sophia engaged in an elaborate comparison of the empress with Helena, putting forth a lengthy and aggrandizing description of the significance of Sophia's generosity in sharing the relic with Radegund and the Franks.<sup>106</sup> A Byzantine reliquary does survive from Poitiers, which was previously thought to be the original reliquary

brought to Francia in the sixth century from Constantinople. However, recent research has conclusively determined that the reliquary was made in Constantinople in the eleventh century, not the sixth.<sup>107</sup> Radegund's monastery was attacked by Vikings in the late ninth century, with the relics of the cross (with their sixth-century silver Byzantine-made reliquary) presumably stolen and the location of the saint's tomb lost until 1012. The eleventh century saw the re-foundation of the Abbey of the Holy Cross, as well as the creation of a Romanesque illuminated manuscript of the saint's lives of Radegund and other documents associated with both her and her foundation.<sup>108</sup> It was probably at this moment that the abbey obtained a new reliquary (and likely new relics of the cross) housed in an eleventh-century Byzantine triptych reliquary. By 1476, this eleventh-century Byzantine reliquary was housed in a golden chasse (box reliquary) produced in Francia in the ninth century. It is likely that the union of this eleventh-century Byzantine reliquary and the ninth-century Carolingian chasse represented a deliberate attempt by the later audiences of both the objects and the saint's lives to visually recreate the sixth-century relic that had been physically lost.<sup>109</sup> The textual sources (given new life in the beautiful new illuminated manuscript in the eleventh century) linked Poitiers very deliberately with Jerusalem through the cross itself, with Constantinople through the story of Radegund's accrual of the relics, and with the early medieval Frankish elite through her royal status as former queen. We cannot know precisely when the Carolingian chasse was associated with the Byzantine reliquary between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries. The audience would have seen all these elements not as a forgery or an attempt to fool them, but as evidence of the ongoing connections that objects and texts played in traversing the vertical and horizontal distances, connecting them with the divine.

In the sixth century, however, not everyone welcomed Radegund's interference in political and religious affairs, including Maroveus, bishop of Poitiers, who felt his authority was lessened by the former queen's presence in his city, and the Gallic bishops, many of whom disliked Radegund's methods.<sup>110</sup> When the relics of the True Cross had arrived from Constantinople, Maroveus refused to install them in the convent and left town to visit his country estates; the arrival of such a famous and prestigious relic in the small town of Poitiers threatened to alter the balance of spiritual authority. Sigebert quickly dispatched the bishop of Tours to try to ameliorate the situation, although Poitiers was under the jurisdiction of Bordeaux. A gift from the emperor of Byzantium could not be refused, and the relic itself could not suffer humiliation. Radegund and her royal kin gained the religious and political benefits of a real connection with Constantinople and with an imaginative connection to the Holy Land and the life of Christ, and the bishop of Poitiers had to endure his loss of status.

Radegund's act linked distant regions and the housing of these relics within her tightly cloistered nunnery was a new kind of Frankish piety. This piety set up a barrier between the holy object and the world, guarded by virgin women, which was very different from the open, local shrines to the saints of late

antiquity. As Peter Brown put it, "Access to the holy was restricted. Because of this, the holiness associated with the convent [at Poitiers] seemed to be that much more vibrant and more awesome, as befitted a convent thought to be a powerhouse of prayer."<sup>11</sup> Radegund herself was a figure that worked to link herself, her monastery, and her networks with the divine by gaining a remnant of the cross; she also tried to keep that divine connection powerful by making using her elite networks of connectivity to keep access to that relic privileged and controlled. As an elite woman, Radegund was worked as an instigator of connectivity, setting up and maintaining networks of communication through her relationships with her kin, from her cousin in Constantinople to her former husband's royal successor to her spiritual (but not social) episcopal superiors. Radegund's various long-distance elite religious networks were part of the cultural changes of the transformation of the Roman world, from political alliances between Francia and Constantinople to an increasingly unifying Christian culture linked by the veneration of relics.

During the early Middle Ages, the practical cultural considerations of religious travel to Jerusalem and the eastern Mediterranean, such as the networks between individuals or micro-regions, looked much as they had for religious travelers in previous centuries. Likewise, the horizontal links between locations and vertical distance between God and the Christian faithful exhibited substantial continuity. Jerusalem as a pilgrim site connected to elite discourses about sacred space, in which hierarchy and power were central ways that people perceived and organized space. Jerusalem as a place though, especially for western exegetes, was in a very real sense "imagined" as they wrote about a place with great theological significance to which they had never been. These authors juxtaposed biblical and patristic witnesses of the Holy Land with contemporary ones, creating a contested vision of Jerusalem that demonstrates the *mentalité* of early medieval western Christians towards the city that was both place and idea for them.

The imagined holy landscape is juxtaposed with the reality of the material culture of the eastern Mediterranean produced by those who lived there and by western travelers about their experiences, likewise filtered through lenses of place and power. This created a real-and-imagined sacred space that was conceptualized in theological and social terms through the spatial mobility of religious travelers and the stories about that movement in the hagiographical sources. The real global connections made Jerusalem into a place filled with locals and travelers, which mirrored the global connections between Jerusalem the heavenly city and the Christian faithful.

## Notes

- 1 This is true of modern-day Jerusalem as well, as described by Roger Friedland and Richard Hecht, "The Politics of Sacred Place: Jerusalem's Temple Mount/Al-Haram Al-Sharif." In *Sacred Places and Profane Spaces: Essays in the*

- Geographics of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. Jamie S. Scott and Paul Simpson-Housley (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 21–61.
- 2 R.A. Markus, “How on Earth Could Places Become Holy? Origin of the Christian Idea of Holy Places.” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 2 (1994), 267; Christine Shephardson, *Controlling Contested Places, Late Antique Antioch and the Spatial Politics of Religious Controversy* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2014), 248.
  - 3 Jerome, *Commentarium in Hiezechielem*, ed. François Glorie, CCSL 75 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1964), II.5.5, 56. “Hierusalem in medio mundi sitam, hic idem propheta testator, umbilicum terrae esse demonstrans.” See also Philip S. Alexander, “Jerusalem as the Omphalos of the World: On the History of a Geographical Concept.” In *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. Lee I. Levine (New York: Continuum Books, 1999), 104–19.
  - 4 Peter W.L. Walker, *Holy City, Holy Places?: Christian Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Fourth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).
  - 5 Alessandro Scafi, “Coping with Muslim Jerusalem between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Islam and the Holy City on Christian World Maps.” In *Between Jerusalem and Europe: Essays in Honour of Bianca Kühnel*, ed. Renana Bartal and Hanna Vorholt (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 257–79; Thomas Renna, *Jerusalem in Medieval Thought, 400–1300* (Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen Press, 2001).
  - 6 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, Ed. W.M. Lindsay (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911). Book 14, Ch. 2. Diagrammatic T-O map from a ninth- or tenth-century manuscript: St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 237, f. 219r. Digitized: <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0237>.
  - 7 The Morgan Beatus world map, ca. 940–945. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M644. Digitized: <http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?BBID=242372>.
  - 8 Mosaic, “Old Church,” Madaba, Jordan. Media Center for Art History, Columbia University. Digitized: <https://mcid.mcah.columbia.edu/art-atlas/art-and-archaeology-jordan/st-georges-church-and-mosaic-map>. See analysis in Michele Piccirillo and Eugenio Alliata, eds., *The Madaba Map Centenary, 1897–1997: Travelling through the Byzantine Umayyad Period* (Jerusalem: Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, 1999).
  - 9 Herbert Donner, *The Mosaic Map of Madaba: An Introductory Guide* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1992), 30.
  - 10 P.D.A. Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land* (London: The British Library, 2012), 11.
  - 11 Brigitte Englisch, *Ordo orbis terrae: die Weltsicht in den Mappae mundi des frühen und hohen Mittelalters* (Berlin: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2002), 123–67.
  - 12 B.A.V., ms Vat lat. 6018, ff. 63v–64r. MS is not digitized; illustrated in Peter Barber, ed., *The Map Book* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2005), 38–39. Description in Leonid S. Chekin, *Northern Eurasia in Medieval Cartography: Inventory, Texts, Translation, and Commentary* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 126–28. Plate of the map, Chekin, X.I, 447.
  - 13 Thomas O’Loughlin, *Adomnán and the Holy Places: The Perceptions of an Insular Monk on the Locations of the Biblical Drama* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2007), 62.
  - 14 Jean-Michel Picard, “Bede, Adomnán and the Writing of History.” *Peritia* 3 (1984): 50–70.
  - 15 Bede, “De Locis Sanctis.” In *Itineraria et Alia Geographica. Itineraria Hierosolymitana. Itineraria Romana. Geographica.*, ed. P. Geyer et al., CCSL vol. 175 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1965), preface, 251; W. Trent Foley and Arthur G. Holder,



- trans., *Bede: A Biblical Miscellany* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), 5.
- 16 Adomnán of Iona, "Vita Columbae." In *Adomnán's Life of Columba*, ed. Alan Orr Anderson and Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991). Adomnán related that King Oswald of Northumbria had a vision of Saint Columba before a battle in 634. Oswald was a powerful king, claiming hegemony over the other Anglo-Saxon leaders, as well as some authority over the Britons, the Picts, and the Dál Riata. By highlighting the story of Columba's posthumous influence over Oswald, Adomnán placed the saint (and by extension his foundation of Iona) into the milieu of seventh-century royal politics in northern England. Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Ed. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969). III.2 related that Oswald asked the abbot of Iona help him spread Christianity in Northumbria, and the abbot sent a holy man named Aedan, who kept the Irish calendar for calculating Easter.
- 17 Bertram Colgrave, ed., "Vita Cuthberti." In *Two Lives of St. Cuthbert: A Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne, and Bede's Prose Life*, ed. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940), III.6; Bede, "Vita Cuthberti," in Colgrave, *Two Lives of St. Cuthbert: A Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne, and Bede's Prose Life*, ed. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940), § 24. Bede said that "for some considerable time before this he had been pursuing his studies in the regions of the Irish, suffering self-imposed exile to gratify his love of learning."
- 18 Adomnán of Iona, "Vita Columbae," II.46.
- 19 Bede described in *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V.15, and Adomnán of Iona, *De Locis Sanctis*, ed. Ludwig Bieler and Denis Meehan (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1958), 3.6.4–5, 36–120.
- 20 This view of Arculf can be found in most of the standard works that reference the *DLS*, including the Bieler and Meehan edition, but also works on medieval pilgrimage, for instance in Maribel Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins and Pilgrims: Ascetic Travel in the Mediterranean World, A.D. 300–800*. (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2005), 193–200.
- 21 Thomas O'Loughlin has been developing his ideas about the exegetical role of the *DLS* over the last twenty-five years, starting with his 1992 article, Thomas O'Loughlin, "The Exegetical Purpose of Adomnán's De Locis Sanctis." *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 24 (1992): 37–53; O'Loughlin, *Adomnán and the Holy Places*, Ch. 4–6; Thomas O'Loughlin, "The De Locis Sanctis as a Liturgical Text." In *Adomnán of Iona: Theologian, Lawmaker, Peacemaker*, ed. Jonathan M. Wooding et al. (Dublin: Four Courts, 2010), 181–92.
- 22 Augustine of Hippo, "De Doctrina Christiana." Ed. And trans. R.P.H. Green (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 2.29.45.
- 23 Bede, "De Locis Sanctis," XX, 280.
- 24 Thomas O'Loughlin, "Adomnán's Plans in the Context of His Imagining 'the Most Famous City'." In *Imagining Jerusalem in the Medieval West*, ed. Lucy Donkin and Hanna Vorholt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 15–40; Yitzhak Hen, "Holy Land Pilgrims from Frankish Gaul." *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 76 (1998): 291–306.
- 25 BNF lat. 11561, f. 43v; digitized in black and white at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90668240>. Full-color reproduction in Barber, *The Map Book*, 40–41. Partial edition (without Joshua) in Gerhard McGinty, ed., *Pauca problemsmata de enigmatibus ex tomis canonicis*, CCCM 173 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002). See also, Thomas O'Loughlin, "Map and Text: A Mid Ninth-Century Map for the Book of Joshua." *Imago Mundi* 57, no. 1 (2005): 7–22.
- 26 Adomnán of Iona, *DLS*, preface. "Arculfus sanctus episcopus gente Gallus diversorum longe remotorum peritus locorum." Scholars both medieval and

modern have troubled over the name Arculf (clearly of Frankish/Germanic origin) with his identification as a Gaul; Bede smooths over this trouble in his version of *De Locis Sanctis* by saying that Arculf was a bishop of the Gauls, rather than a Gaul himself; see Bede, *HE*, 5.15. O'Loughlin is unsatisfied with Arculf's biography, calling it "indistinct and lacking in credibility" and he is unhappy with the notion that "we have no other evidence than [Adomnán's] word" for Arculf's existence (O'Loughlin, *Adomnán and the Holy Places*, 62). Very recently, an article has taken a more measured approach on the subject of Arculf as a real traveler; see Robert G. Hoyland and Sarah Waidler, "Adomnán's *De Locis Sanctis* and the Seventh-Century Near East." *The English Historical Review* 129, no. 539 (2014): 787–807.

- 27 Ewan Campbell, "E Ware and Aquitaine: A Reappraisal of the Petrological Evidence." *Scottish Archaeological Review* 3, no. 1 (1984): 38–41
- 28 Adomnán of Iona, "Vita Columbae," I.28. "Sulfurea de caelo flamma super romani juris civitatem intra Italiae terminos sitam hac hora effusa est, triaque ferme milia virorum excepto matrum puerorumque numero disperierunt. Et antequam praesens finiatur annus gallici nautae de Galliarum provinciis adventantes haec eadem tibi enarrabunt."
- 29 J.N. Hillgarth, "Visigothic Spain and Early Christian Ireland." *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature* 62 (1963): 167–94; Michael McCormick, *The Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, c.700-c.900*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 148 and 505.
- 30 Adomnán of Iona, *DLS*, I.9.
- 31 Adomnán of Iona, I.9.
- 32 Adomnán of Iona, I.23.
- 33 Adomnán of Iona, 23.9. "Igitur nostri Arculfi... narratio cum aliorum scribitis recte concordat..."
- 34 Standard texts on early medieval Palestinian monasticism and pilgrimage: Joseph Patrich, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism: A Comparative Study in Eastern Monasticism, Fourth to Seventh Centuries* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1995); John Binns, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ: The Monasteries of Palestine, 314–631* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); Yizhar Hirschfeld, *The Judean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), and Jodi Magness, "Archaeological Evidence for the Sasanian Persian Invasion of Jerusalem." In *Shaping the Middle East: Jews, Christians, and Muslims in an Age of Transition, 400–800 C.E.*, ed. Kenneth G. Holum and Hayim Lapin (Bethesda, MD: University Press of Maryland, 2011), 85–98.
- 35 Michael McCormick, *Charlemagne's Survey of the Holy Land: Wealth, Personnel, and Buildings of a Mediterranean Church between Antiquity and the Middle Ages: With a Critical Edition and Translation of the Original Text* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2011), 48.
- 36 Daniel Reynolds, "Monasticism in Early Islamic Palestine: Contours of Debate." In *The Late Antique World of Early Islam: Muslims among Christians and Jews in the East Mediterranean*, ed. R. Hoyland (London: Darwin Press, 2015), 339–91.
- 37 Reynolds, 344–45.
- 38 David E. Graves and Scott Stripling, "Re-Examination of the Location for the Ancient City of Livias." *Levant* 43, no. 2 (2011): 178–200.
- 39 Theodosius, "De Situ Terrae Sanctae." In *Itineraria et Alia Geographica. Itineraria Hierosolymitana. Itineraria Romana. Geographica.*, ed. P. Geyer et al., CCSL vol. 175 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1965), 113–125; John Wilkinson, trans., *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, 2nd edition (Warminster: Aris & Phillips,

- 2002), 19; Yoram Tsafrir, "The Maps Used by Theodosius: On the Pilgrim Maps of the Holy Land and Jerusalem in the Sixth Century C. E." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 40 (1986): 129–45.
- 40 Piacenza Pilgrim, "Itinerarium." In *Itinerarium Antonini Placentini: Un Viaggio in Terra Sancta Del 560–570 d.C.*, ed. Celestina Milani (Milan: Università Cattolica, 1977), 10.1–3, 120. "Ibi proxima est civitas que vocatur Salamiada, ubi remanserunt duo semis tribus Israhel, antequam Iordanem transirent, in quo loco sunt terme, ex se lavent, quae vocantur Moysi; ibi etiam et leprosi mundantur. Et ibi fons, aqua dulcissima, quae pro catarticum bibitur et sanat multos languores, non longe a mare Salinarum, in qua etiam et Iordanis ingreditur subtus Sodoman et Gomurram, ad cuius litus sulfur et bitumen colligitur. In qua mare mense Iulio et Augusto et medio Septembrio tota die iacen leprosi; ad vesperum lavant in illis termis Moysi, et aliquoties, quem vult deus, mundatur. Nam et generalitati est aliqua paramicia."
- 41 Gregory of Tours, "Gloria Martyrum." Ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM 1, Part 2. (Hanover, 1885), § 16, 49. "In uno etenim reflexu aqua ispa revolvitur, in qua nunc leprosi mundantur. Cum autem advenerint, saepius lavantur in flumine, donec ab infirmitate purgentur. De publico tamen dum ibi commorati fuerint, victum accipiunt; sanati autem ad propria discedunt."
- 42 Kevin Griffin and Razaq Raj, "The Importance of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage: Reflecting on Definitions, Motives and Data," *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage* 5, no. 3, Article 2 (2018): iv.
- 43 Adomnán of Iona, *DLS*, II.26. The text calls him a "miles Christi."
- 44 Gregory of Tours, "Gloria Martyrum," § 1, 38. "Nuper autem diaconus noster retulit, quod cum quinque viris aspexit, sed duobus tantum apparuit."
- 45 Claudia Rapp, *Brother-Making in Late-Antiquity and Byzantium: Monks, Laymen, and Christian Ritual* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 51.
- 46 Eusebius of Caesarea, "Historia Ecclesiastica." In *Ecclesiastical History, Volume II: Books 6–10*, trans. J.E.L. Oulton, Loeb Classical Library 265 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1932), 7.18; Paul L. Maier, trans., *Eusebius-The Church History: A New Translation with Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1999). cf. Mark 5:25–44
- 47 Gregory of Tours, "Gloria Martyrum," § 20, 50. "Nam, ut plerosque audivi, qui eam contemplati fuerant, mira claritas in eius facie contenetur."
- 48 Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978).
- 49 Walter Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil im Lateinischen Mittelalter. III Karolingische Biographie 750–920 n. Chr.* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann Verlag, 1991), 6–13; Ora Limor, "Pilgrims and Authors: Adomnán's De Locis Sanctis and Hugeburc's Hodoeporicon Sancti Willibaldi." *Revue Bénédictine* 114, no. 2 (2004): 253–75; James T. Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish World, 690–900* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 261–62; Rodney Aist, *The Christian Topography of Early Islamic Jerusalem: The Evidence of Willibald of Eichstätt, 700–787 CE* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009).
- 50 Bernhard Bischoff first deciphered the cryptogram in his article, Bernard Bischoff, "Wer Ist Die Nonne von Heidenheim?" *Studien Und Mitteilungen Zur Geschichte Des Benediktiner-Ordens* 49 (1931): 387–97. More recently, Pauline Head, "Who Is the Nun from Heidenheim? A Study of Hugeburc's Vita Willibaldi." *Medium Aevum* 71, no. 1 (2002): 29–46.
- 51 Huneberc, "Vita Willibaldi Episcopi Eischstetensis et Vita Wynnebali Abbatis Heidenheimensis Auctore Sanctimoniale Heidenheimensis." Ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SS 15.1. (Hanover, 1887), prologue, 87. "... prestare atque perficere dignatus est in hoc mundo, suisque oculis venerandi viri Willibaldi corporaliter cognita suisque plantis per omnia palpando penetrandoque visibiliter

- comparuere: haec omnia intimando perstringimus. Et non solum signa, que nobis per euangelii gratiam certa demonstrantur, ille videbat, sed etiam terrarum loca, ubi Dominus noster nascendo patiendoque ac resurgendo nobis apparuit.” Trans. Thomas F.X. Noble and Thomas Head, eds., “Life of Willibrord.” In *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints’ Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, trans. C.H. Talbot (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1995), 144.
- 52 Huneberc, “Vita Willibaldi,” prologue, 87. “... mihi videtur esse proterum, quod ista omnia muta tenacitatis silentio opilatis labiis humana taceat lingua, quas Dominus quo suo servo pro proprii corporis laborem per visionemque oculorum ostendendo in nostris temporibus revelare dignatus est. Ista non apocriforum venia erratica dissertatione relata esse cognoscamus, sed sicut illo ipso vidente et nobis referente de ori sui dictatione audire et nihilominus scibere destinavimus.” Trans. Noble and Head, “Life of Willibrord,” 144.
- 53 Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil*, III, 21–22.
- 54 Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish World*, 253–55.
- 55 Ian N. Wood, “Missionary Hagiography in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries.” In *Ethnogenese und Überlieferung. Angewandte Methoden der Frühmittelalterforschung*, ed. Karl Brunner and Brigitte Merta (Vienna: Oldenbourg Verlag, 1994), 189–99.
- 56 Huneberc, “Vita Willibaldi,” § 4, 96. “Ibi morabant unam noctem inter duabus fontibus, et pastores dabant nobis acrum lac bibere.” Trans. Noble and Head, “Life of Willibrord,” 154.
- 57 Huneberc, “Vita Willibaldi,” § 2, 89.
- 58 Huneberc, “Vita Willibaldi,” § 3, 90–91.
- 59 A Frankish example is Marculf, *Marculfi Formularum Libri Duo*, ed. Alf Uddholm (Uppsala: Uppsala universitets arsskrift, 1962); Alice Rio, trans., *The Formularies of Angers and Marculf: Two Merovingian Legal Handbooks* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009), 227.
- 60 Benjamin Jokisch, *Islamic Imperial Law: Harun-Al-Rashid’s Codification Project* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 401. The term *shurūt* comes directly from the Greek term *χάρτης*, and the Latin *chartus* meaning deed or paper.
- 61 Three works on *shurūt* by al-Ṭahāwī are mentioned, though only one is entirely extant, in the *Kitūb al-Shurūt al-ṣaghīr*. That is an abridgment of *Kitūb al-Shurūt al-kabīr*, of which only five chapters survive. Arabic edition of al-Ṭahāwī and Rawhī Ūzjān, “Kitūb Al-Shurūt Al-Ṣaghīr.” In *Kitūb Al-Shurūt Al-Ṣaghīr*, 2 vols. (Baghdad: Ri’āsat Dīwān al-Awqāf, 1974), which also contains the five chapters of the *Kitūb al-Shurūt al-kabīr*. An English translation and commentary on one chapter of the *Kitūb al-Shurūt al-kabīr* on contracts of sale is Jeanette Wakin, ed., *The Function of Documents in Islamic Law. The Chapters on Sales from Ṭahāwī’s Kitūb Al-Shurūt Al-Ṣaghīr* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1974). Summary of al-Ṭahāwī’s work by Nurit Tsafir, “Abū Ja’far Al-Ṭahāwī.” In *Islamic Legal Thought: A Compendium of Muslim Jurists*, ed. Oussama Arabi, David Powers, and Susan Spector (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 123–45.
- 62 Milka Levy-Rubin, *Non-Muslims in the Early Islamic Empire: From Surrender to Coexistence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Mark R. Cohen, “What Was the Pact of ‘Umar? A Literary-Historical Study.” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 23(1999): 100–57.
- 63 “Hādha kitāb li-‘Abd Allāh ‘Umar amīr al-mu’minīn min naṣārā madīnat kadhā.” In Cohen, “What Was the Pact of ‘Umar?,” 106.
- 64 Levy-Rubin, *Non-Muslims in the Early Islamic Empire*, Appendix I “Al-Ṭurṭūshī’s Version of Shurūt ‘Umar,” clause 2, 171.
- 65 Huneberc, “Vita Willibaldi,” § 4, 94. “Confestimque illi pagani Sarracini repperientes, quod adveni et ignoti homines illic venti fuerunt, tulerunt eos et

- captivos habebant; qui nesciebant, de quale feruant gente, sed speculatores esse illos estimabant, et captivos eos ducebant ad quendam senem divitem, ut videret et agnosceret, unde essent.” Trans. Noble and Head, “Life of Willibrord,” 152.
- 66 Gideon Avni, “Continuity and Change in the Cities of Palestine during the Early Islamic Period.” In *Shaping the Middle East: Jews, Christians, and Muslims in an Age of Transition, 400–800 C.E.*, ed. Kenneth G. Holum and Hayim Lapin (Bethesda, MD: University Press of Maryland, 2011), 115.
  - 67 Amikam Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship: Holy Places, Ceremonies, Pilgrimage* (Leiden: Brill, 1995); Oleg Grabar, *The Shape of the Holy: Early Islamic Jerusalem* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).
  - 68 Avni, “Continuity and Change in the Cities of Palestine during the Early Islamic Period,” 118.
  - 69 Huneberc, “Vita Willibaldi,” § 4, 100. “... et dedit illis epistolam duobus et duobus. Illic non poterant simul pergere, sed duos et duos, quia facilius sic potuerunt alimenta obtinere illis.” Trans. Noble and Head, “Life of Willibrord,” 158.
  - 70 Huneberc, “Vita Willibaldi,” § 4, 101. “Et qui illic venit non habens cartam, non pertransiret locum, qui in custodia est ille locus et est claustrum; sed cito si venerit sine carta, tollent illum cives et mittunt ad urbe Tyro.” Trans. Noble and Head, “Life of Willibrord,” 159.
  - 71 Huneberc, “Vita Willibaldi,” § 4, 101. “Episcopus Willibaldus prius, quando erat in Hierusalem, emebat sibi balsamum et replevit unam munerbam, tollit unam cannam, que fuit concava et habuit imum, illam replevit de petre oleo et fecit intus in munerbam et secavit illam cannam parem munerba, ita ut in margine ambo erant similes plane, sic claudebat os munerbe. Cumque veniebant illi ad urbe Tyro, illi cives urbis tollentes eos constringebant et omnem scirfam eorum exquirebant, et ut repperirent, si aliquid absconditum, et si aliquid invenissent, cito illos punientes martyrizarent. Cumque omnia exquirentes nihil invenerunt nisi unam munerbam, quam habuit Willibaldus, illamque aperientes, odorabant, quid intus fuisset. Cumque odorabant petre oleam, qui intus in canna fuerant supra, et balsamum, qui intus erant in munerba subtus petre olea, non repperierunt, et sic eos reliquerunt.” Trans. Noble and Head, “Life of Willibrord,” 159.
  - 72 Shimshon Ben-Yehoshua, Carole Borowitz, and Lumír Ondřej Hanuš, “Frankincense, Myrrh, and Balm of Gilead: Ancient Spices of Southern Arabia and Judea.” *Horticultural Reviews* 39 (2012): 61.
  - 73 Julia M.H. Smith, “Portable Christianity: Relics in the Medieval West (c.700–1200).” *Proceedings of the British Academy* 181 (2012): 143–167.
  - 74 Gregory of Tours, “Gloria Martyrum,” § 6, 42. “Prodit et ex monumento, quo dominicum iacuit corpus, mira virtus, quod saepius terra naturali candore radiante repletur, et exinde iterum ablata aqua conspergitur, de qua turtolae parvulae formantur ac per diversis mundi partibus transmittuntur; de quibus plerumque infermni sanitates hauriunt.” Trans. Raymond van Dam, trans., *Gregory of Tours: Glory of the Martyrs* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1988), 9.
  - 75 L.Y. Rahmani, “The Byzantine Solomon ‘Eulogia’ Tokens in the British Museum.” *Israel Exploration Journal* 49, no. 1/2 (1999): 92–104. See also Ora Limor, “Earth, stone, water, and oil: objects of veneration in Holy Land travel narratives,” in *Natural Materials of the Holy Land and the Visual Translation of Place, 500–1500*, ed. Renana Bartal, Neta Bodner, and Bianca Künel (London: Routledge Publishing, 2017), 3–18.
  - 76 *Ampulla of Saint Menas*, late 6th c. - mid 8th c., earthenware, 3.25 x 3 in, late 6th c. - mid 8th c. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/447995>.

88 *Contested space, sacred space in the Holy Land*

- 77 *Early Byzantine Ampulla*, 6th century, clay, 2.5 in, 6th century. The British Museum, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=59092&partId=1&object=24283&page=1](https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=59092&partId=1&object=24283&page=1). See also, William Anderson, "Votive Customs in Early Byzantine Asia Minor," *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association* 3 (2007): 17–27.
- 78 Jodi Magness, *Jerusalem Ceramic Chronology: Circa 200–800 CE* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 178.
- 79 *Ramat Rahel Ampulla*, Byzantine Period, pottery, H: 9.5 cm, Byzantine Period. The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, <https://www.imj.org.il/en/collections/200035?itemNum=200035>.
- 80 Magness, *Jerusalem Ceramic Chronology*, 110 and 259.
- 81 Yoram Tsafrir, "Trade, Workshops, and Shops in Bet Shean/Scythopolis, 4th–8th Centuries." In *Byzantine Trade, 4th–12th Centuries: The Archaeology of Local, Regional and International Exchange: Papers of the Thirty-Eighth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, St John's College, University of Oxford, March 2004*, ed. Marlia Mundell Mango (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2009), 61–82.
- 82 The pilgrim Theodosius said that he visited the martyrion of Basilus in Scythopolis/Bet She'an in the early sixth century. Theodosius, "De Situ Terrae Sanctae," 115.
- 83 Alžběta Filipová, "On the Origins of the Monza Collection of Holy Land Ampullae: The Legend of Gregory the Great's Gift of Relics to Theodelinda Reconsidered." *Arte Lombarda* 173–74 (2015): 5–16; Dan Barag and John Wilkinson, "The Monza—Bobbio Flasks and the Holy Sepulchre." *Levant* 6, no. 1 (1974): 179–87.
- 84 Gary Vikan, "Byzantine Pilgrims' Art." In *Heaven on Earth: Art and the Church in Byzantium*, ed. Linda Safran (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1998), 229–66; Gary Vikan, "Sacred Image, Sacred Power." In *Sacred Images and Sacred Power in Byzantium* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), 1–11.
- 85 Original report by Philippe Lauer, "Le Trésor Du Sancta Sanctorum Au Lateran." In *Monuments et Mémoires / Publiés Par l'Académie Des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (Paris: Fondation E. Piot, 1906). Further discussion in Kirstin Noreen, "Opening the Holy of Holies: Early Twentieth-Century Explorations of the Sancta Sanctorum (Rome)." *Church History* 80, no. 3 (2011): 520–46; Guido Cornini, "'Non Est in Toto Sanctior Orbe Locus,' Collecting Relics in Early Medieval Rome." In *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics and Devotion in Medieval Europe*, ed. Martina Bagnoli (London: British Museum Press, 2010), 69–78.
- 86 Julia M.H. Smith, "Care of Relics in Early Medieval Rome." In *Rome and Religion in the Medieval World: Studies in Honor of Thomas F.X. Noble*, ed. Valerie L. Garver and Owen M. Phelan (London: Routledge, 2016), 183 and appendix, 205.
- 87 *Sancta Sanctorum Reliquary Box*, 6th century, Carved wood, engraved and partially gilded; encaustic painting on wood, 4 x 18.4 x 1 cm, 6th century. Vatican Museum, [http://www.museivaticani.va/content/museivaticani/en/collezioni/musei/cappella-di-san-pietro-martire/reliquiario-in-legno-dipinto-con-scene-della-vita-di-cristo.html#lnav\\_info](http://www.museivaticani.va/content/museivaticani/en/collezioni/musei/cappella-di-san-pietro-martire/reliquiario-in-legno-dipinto-con-scene-della-vita-di-cristo.html#lnav_info).
- 88 Martina Bagnoli, ed., *Treasures of Heaven, saints, relics, and devotion in medieval Europe* (London: British Museum Press, 2010), 36–7, Image 13
- 89 Bruno Galland, *Les authentiques de reliques du sancta sanctorum*, Studi e Testi 421 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2004).
- 90 Bagnoli, *Treasures of Heaven*, 80–81, Image 36. "ACCI/PE QUAES/O A DO/MINA MEA R/EGINA MVNDI H/OC VE/XILLUM CRVCIS/ QUAOD/TIBI PAS/CHALIS/ EPISCOPUS OPTULIT."

- 91 John F. Romano, *Liturgy and Society in Early Medieval Rome* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2014), 35–36; Anton Baumstark, *On the Historical Development of the Liturgy* (1923; repr., Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2011), 226–27.
- 92 Jan Willem Drijvers, *Helena Augusta: The Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of Her Finding of the True Cross* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 81.
- 93 There is an extensive bibliography on Radegund, including René Aigrain, *Sainte Radegonde (vers 520–587)* (Paris: Lecoffre, 1918); Suzanne Fonay Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society: Marriage and the Cloister, 500 to 900* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981). Important articles include, Simon Coates, “Regendering Radegund? Fortunatus, Baudonivia and the Problem of Female Sanctity in Merovingian Gaul 1.” *Studies in Church History* 34 (1998): 37–50; Brian Brennan, “St Radegund and the Early Development of Her Cult at Poitiers.” *Journal of Religious History* 13, no. 4 (1985): 340–54.
- 94 Courtney Luckhardt, “Gender and Connectivity: Facilitating Religious Travel in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries.” *Comitatus: A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 44, no. 1 (2013): 29–53; Julia M.H. Smith, “Radegundis Peccatrix: Authorizations of Virginity in Late Antique Gaul.” In *Transformations of Late Antiquity: Essays for Peter Brown*, ed. Philip Rousseau and Emmanuel Papoutsakis (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2009), 303–26.
- 95 Venantius Fortunatus, “Vita Radegundis.” Ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM 2 (Hanover, 1888), § 14, 369. “Hinc felici navigo Turonis adpulsā...”
- 96 Fortunatus, “Vita Radegundis,” § 27–28, 373.
- 97 Enclosure within the monastery was due to the adoption of the Caesarian Rule. Enclosure at Poitiers has been overemphasized because of a later rebellion of the sisters; during the saint’s lifetime she hosted lay visitors, held parties, and played backgammon, Gregory of Tours, *DLH*, 9.39–43 and 10.15–17.
- 98 The convent linked to Germanus, bishop of Paris and his successor Ragnemodus, who sent gift of Parian marble for the shrine of the Holy Cross at Poitiers, see Venantius Fortunatus, “Ad Ragnemodum episcopum;” Marc Reydellet, ed., *Poèmes. Tome III: Livres IX–XI. Appendice - In laudem sanctae Mariae* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2004), Carmina, 9.10, 32–33. Bishop Euphronius of Tours and others provided a guarantee of support for Radegund’s convent, see letters between Radegund and the bishops in Gregory of Tours, *DLH*, 9.39 and 9.42.
- 99 Venantius’ poem *De excidio Thuringiae* was composed in the first person as though written by Radegund herself, addressing her kinsman Amalafrid, son of the Thuringian king. After his father’s defeat, Amalafrid, his mother, and sister fled to Italy, where they were captured by Belisarius of Constantinople. Amalafrid became a general in the Byzantine army himself. *De excidio Thuringiae* was likely sent to Constantinople in the embassy which sought a piece of the cross. Venantius Fortunatus, “De excidio Thuringiae.” Ed. Reydellet, *Poèmes. Tome III, Carmina Appendix 1*, 133–40.
- 100 Isabel Moreira, “Provisatrix Optima: St. Radegund of Poitiers’ Relic Petitions to the East.” *Journal of Medieval History* 19, no. 4 (1993): 285–305; Cynthia Hahn, “Collector and Saint: Queen Radegund and Devotion to the Relic of the True Cross.” *Word & Image* 22, no. 3 (2006): 268–74; Cynthia Jean Hahn, *Strange Beauty: Issues in the Making and Meaning of Reliquaries, 400-circa 1204* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2012), 14.
- 101 Averil Cameron, “The Early Religious Policies of Justin II.” *Studies in Church History* 13 (1976): 51–67.
- 102 Baudonivia’s *Vita Radegundis* emphasized the former queen’s acquisition of the relic of the True Cross more than Venantius did. Venantius did write poems about the cross, most significantly the hymn *Vexilla regis prodeunt* and *Ad Iustinum et Sophiam Augustos*, Reydellet, *Poèmes. Tome III, Carmina Appendix 2*, 104–44.

- 103 A. Frolow, *La Relique de la Vraie Croix: Recherches Sur Le Developpement d'Un Culte* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1961); A. Frolow, *Les reliquaires de la Vraie Croix* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1965).
- 104 Nicephorus, "Epistula Ad Leonem III Papam." In *Patrologia Graeca* 100, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris: Imprimerie catholique, 1863), col. 200; Erik Thunø, *Image and Relic: Mediating the Sacred in Early Medieval Rome* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2002), 120. Late antique embassies have been examined by Andrew Gillett, *Envoys and Political Communication in the Late Antique West, 411–533* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
- 105 H.-G. Thümmel, "Krueze, Reliquien und Bilder im Zeremonienbuch des Constantinos Porphyrogennetos." *Byzantinesche Forschungen* 18 (1992): 119–26.
- 106 Jo Ann McNamara, "Imitatio Helenae: Sainthood as an Attribute of Queenship." In *Saints: Studies in Hagiography*, ed. Sandro Sticca (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1996), 51–80. Venantius' *Ad Justinum et Sophiam Augustos* portrayed the Byzantine empress Sophia as a new Helena (while Justin was a new Constantine) and Radegund was presented as a Thuringian queen (not as a Frank or even as a nun). Baudonivia used Venantius' *Imitatio Helenae* (though not his exalted Latin) for Radegund herself.
- 107 Lynn Jones, "Perceptions of Byzantium: Radegund of Poitiers and Relics of the True Cross." In *Byzantine Images and Their Afterlives: Essays in Honor of Annemarie Weyl Carr*, ed. Lynn Jones (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2014), 105–24. A full-color plate of the central panel of the reliquary, Plate 8, is composed of wood and cloisonné enamel.
- 108 Poitiers, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 250. See also: Magdalena Elizabeth Carasco, "Spirituality in Context: The Romanesque Illustrated Life of St. Radegund of Poitiers (Poitiers, Bibl. Mun., MS 250)." *The Art Bulletin* 72, no. 3 (1990): 414–35; Robert Favreau and Jean Favier, eds., *La vie de sainte Radegonde: Poitiers, Bibliothèque municipale, manuscrit 250* (Paris: Seuil, 1995).
- 109 Jones, "Perceptions of Byzantium" 124.
- 110 Gregory of Tours, *DLH*, 9.42.
- 111 Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200–1000*. (Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, 2013), 230.



### 3 The pull of Rome

In sixth- and seventh-century Gaul, internal and external forces transformed the various micro-regions from Roman provinces to Frankish kingdoms and principalities. While new barbarian elites changed the political systems of Gaul and old Gallo-Roman aristocrats sought to hold on to power through land and wealth, the physical landscape remained a constant for travelers of all types. While mountain passes stay high and rivers always flow to the sea, the patterns of human movement saw small, incremental changes. Tracking religious movement identifies a new vector of change in the post-Roman world. Sources from the early Middle Ages show a Christian civilization that continued to look to their immediate south to the Gallic and Italian Mediterranean for religious inspiration, instruction, and illumination. During this same time, the barbarian elites in Gaul transformed the social landscape, attracting people north to new centers of power. Internal connections between and among the regions of the former Roman provinces of Gaul and Italy were as crucial as long-established long-distance connections between north and south. Rome was more real – that is, closer and more often visited, than Jerusalem for western pilgrims and other visitors as it was the site of the tombs of ancient martyrs and saints of the early church. Yet, Rome was still an imagined space. Its sacredness was defined by its role as an ideal of Christian authenticity, the authority of the successors of St. Peter, and the memory of the past glories of empire.

The *romanitas* or “Romanness” of early medieval culture is often sought in the continuities with or deviations from an antique model of a particular text or object, but individuals drew from diverse local and distant resources to create new “romanizing” traditions that were multi-layered and situational.<sup>1</sup> These textual, visual, and material productions reflected a real-and-imagined Rome, as they might be inspired by actual Roman antiquity, by non-Roman works that early medieval people perceived as Roman, or as wholly novel and original compositions presented as if continuing ancient traditions of pagan or Christian Rome itself.<sup>2</sup> This “Rome in the mind”<sup>3</sup> depended not just on those who lived in or even visited Rome, but also on Frankish or Anglo-Saxon authors, such as the Fredegar chronicler (ca. 660) or the Venerable Bede (672–735), who sought to link Christian identity in northern Europe to

the real-and-imagined geography of Rome itself. This Rome was a place in motion, with ideas about what made it sacred shifting over time in the early Middle Ages. While Jerusalem's ideal was that of the heavenly city, Rome's ideal for its northern visitors was that of the home of martyrs and saints, popes and empire. Rome was an actual physical source for these imagined things, as the relics of the martyrs allowed the sacred to migrate beyond the Mediterranean, the movement of liturgical texts allowed Roman ritual practice to move beyond the Italian peninsula, and northern kings and would-be emperors both protected and utilized the papacy as a source of political and religious authority.

For northerners, part of the power of the place came from its distance, the holiness of the martyrs reinforced by their placement in the distant heart of the capital of the old Roman Empire, linking the global networks of antiquity and the early Middle Ages. While *romanitas* was a function of ethnic identity, the role of Rome as a sacred place played a key role in the development of individual and collective identity.<sup>4</sup> The idea of Roman identity was shifting in Francia, connected to the Franks' spatial imagination of Rome as holy, embodying the power of the sacred places. The texts about holy men who traveled to Rome were not concerned with defining their subjects' identity as Roman (or barbarian), but rather creating a unified *romanitas* in which the places of Christian martyrs' deaths and tombs became accessible physically and spiritually to all those who recognized their power. Romanness was tied to the power of the holy place, and it was available to anyone who could travel to Rome or who could associate with those holy men or holy objects that had traveled to or from there. This was a new sense of Roman identity for northerners that included a close association with the city, with the power and charisma of the holy places within it as *romanitas*.

### Entering the city

Visitors to Rome sought physical and spiritual access to the divine through the holy places and entering the city was often portrayed as an act that brought the traveler into contact with this power and holiness. Many pilgrims approached the city of Rome from the main route from the north, called the *Via Francigena* by at least the year 990, though likely before.<sup>5</sup> This route stretched from the English Channel ports (Wissant or Calais in northern France) across Francia, over the Great St. Bernard Pass and into Lombardy and down to Rome itself. Approaching on the *Via Triumphalis*, the early medieval northern pilgrim would first have gone to St. Peter's outside the walls of the city, around which a tourist district, later called the Borgo, had sprung up. One ninth-century pilgrim, gripped by a malarial fever, described a dream-vision of approaching Rome before he had even gotten there.

When they stood upon the summit [of a mountain] together, [a deacon] said, "Turn east and look down upon the landscape before your eyes!"

When he had done that and had seen the landscape [the deacon] had mentioned, [the pilgrim] saw buildings of immense size rising up there like some great city. When he was asked if he knew what that was, he answered that he did not. Then [the deacon] said, "That is Rome that you see."<sup>6</sup>

The impressive buildings and infrastructure of the ancient world, combined with contemporary churches and holy sites of Christian Rome, awed pilgrims and other visitors, who saw their sacredness defined by both associations. After the difficulty of a long journey, pilgrims approached the tomb of Peter, prince of the apostles, as a group of eighth-century pilgrims did in the nun Huneberc's *Life of Willibald*:

After they had gazed on the peaks covered with snow and wreathed in banks of cloud, with the help of God and support of his saints, they passed safely through the ambushes of the fierce and arrogant soldiery and came with all their relatives and company to the shrine of St. Peter, prince of the apostles. There, they gave many thanks to God, because they had escaped unscathed from the grievous perils of the sea and manifold difficulties of travel in a foreign land and had been accounted worthy to climb the Scala Sancta and reach the famous Basilica of St. Peter.<sup>7</sup>

The difficulty of long-distance travel was emphasized in the journeys of early medieval religious travelers as a demonstration of the reality of movement in the early medieval period as well as the often penitential nature of such travel. The pilgrim entrance above was not based entirely in reality. While the Apennines were treacherous, Huneberc, the author, was not wholly certain of Roman geography. The Scala Sancta, or holy stairs, were actually at the Lateran Palace, not St. Peter's. They were a set of twenty-eight white marble steps believed to be the ones that Jesus descended after being condemned by Pontius Pilate and said to have been brought to Rome by the Emperor Constantine's mother Helena in the fourth century, an appeal to Christian authenticity from both Rome and Jerusalem. Regardless of the geographical reality, the spatial imagination demonstrated that the difficulty approaching Rome was an act of penance that prepared the holy men for the act of visiting the tomb of Peter, the prince of the apostles, and worthy of climbing stairs connected with the death of Jesus. The power of this mental conception of Rome was the same no matter whether the stairs were at Vatican Hill or the Lateran Palace.

While there are few accounts from the thousands of ordinary pilgrims about their approach to the holy city, there are more on the entry of special kinds of visitors, especially emperors and kings. The *adventus*, or ceremony of entry for patricians, including Byzantine exarchs, local bishops, and barbarian kings, had changed in late antiquity from the imperial triumph to pilgrim

obaisance.<sup>8</sup> In 500, the Ostrogothic king Theodoric entered the city at the end of a brief papal schism, throwing his support behind the Catholic pontiff despite his own heretical Arian beliefs. An anonymous sixth-century chronicle reported that:

Pope Symmachus and the entire senate and Roman people met him joyfully outside the city. Then coming to Rome and entering it, he appeared in the senate, and addressed the people at the Palm [an area near the Curia on the Roman Forum].<sup>9</sup>

Theodoric's *adventus* mirrored the ceremonial consensus of previous civil and ecclesiastical authorities, as he was welcomed by the leader of the church in the person of the pope, the civil leaders of the city in the form of the senate, and the citizens meeting him outside the city walls, the confirming his welcome into the city and addressing them directly. What was different about Theodoric's *adventus* was that he visited St. Peter's outside the walls before making his way into the city. Other accounts of imperial entrances from before 500, including that of Constantine (ca. 326) and Honorius (ca. 403) had the emperor processing through the city to end at St. Peter's. The reversal of the old route demonstrates the shifting nature the sacred in the city of Rome. The increasing importance of the Borgo district around St. Peter's for devout foreigners is shown through the focus on the Petrine gate as the main processional entrance for the *adventus*. The sacred place of Rome was in motion, shaped by new ideas about Romanness filtered through the old imperial *adventus* that focused on the forum and the Curia and newer ideas about the martyrs, especially Peter, promoted by the bishops of Rome.

The gravitational pull of Rome's sacred places in the center of the city at the Capitoline and Palatine Hills had moved definitively beyond the Aurelian walls to the Vatican Hill. This motion of the holy places of Rome from sacred pagan *templum* inside the walls to sacred Christian *sepulchrum* outside the walls was even more pronounced two centuries later, in the narrative of Charlemagne's entry into Rome from the *Liber Pontificalis* in 774. While the ceremonial entry of Charlemagne had much in common with the late antique imperial *adventus* narratives, in this eighth-century account, the role of emperor and the role of pilgrim have been conflated, with the diplomatic trappings of the Frankish king's visit to Rome intertwined with his role as a foreign pilgrim. The old and new sacred places demonstrate power and holiness of the saints whom both the Frankish king and the pope venerated.

The ceremonial entrance to Rome began at the city of Novae, likely located at the confluence of two major roads, the *Via Cassia* and the *Via Flaminia*, north of Rome.

The blessed pope Hadrian heard [Charlemagne] was coming... He sent all the judges to meet him at the place called Novae, some thirty miles from the city of Rome. There they welcomed him with a banner. And

when he was only a mile or so away from Rome, he sent all the *scholae* of the militia, along with the *patroni* and the children who were just starting out to learn their letters, all bearing branches of palm and olive, and all chanting praises; with shouts of acclamation and praise they welcomed the king of the Franks. His Holiness dispatched venerable crosses, that is to say, standards, to meet him, just like greeting an exarch or a patrician, and had him welcomed most honorably. The God-appointed, kindly Charles the Great, king of the Franks and patrician of the Romans, the moment he noticed those holy crosses and standards coming to meet him, dismounted his horse and so took care to come to St. Peter's on foot with his judges. The bountiful pontiff rose at daybreak that Holy Saturday and came with the whole clergy and people of Rome to St. Peter's to greet the king of the Franks; with the clergy they waited for him on the steps to the apostle's hall.<sup>10</sup>

The initial welcome for Charlemagne so far from the actual city was unusual not just for a foreign king, but for an emperor, for whom it was customary for the pope to go six miles out of the city to greet, or an exarch, whose customary distance was one mile out of the city.<sup>11</sup> Instead, the pope sent the greeters out thirty miles, and he waited in the extramural church of St. Peter's. In 774, Charlemagne was in the midst of his siege of Pavia against the Lombard king Desiderius when he abruptly crossed Tuscany with a portion of his army to spend Easter at Rome. The fact that the militia met him on the junction of two trunk roads was probably an attempt at a military expression of strength on the part of the bishops of Rome and the city's elites. While the *Liber Pontificalis* takes care to note that Charlemagne was welcomed the way an imperial representative might be, in actuality the entrance bore little relation to either an emperor's reception six miles beyond the city or that of a traditional pilgrim awed by the sight of the great buildings from the hills above the city. Instead, it was a diplomatic event between "two uncertain men trying to judge one another's intentions."<sup>12</sup> The account continues with Charlemagne's official welcome to the city of Rome itself.

When the most excellent and benevolent king Charles arrived, he kissed every single step leading up to St. Peter's holy church, and so came to the pontiff where he was waiting in the atrium at the top of the steps, close to the church doors... They came with the pontiff close to St. Peter's *confessio*. There they prostrated themselves and made their own prayers to our almighty God and the prince of the apostles... Once the prayer was finished, the king of the Franks earnestly requested the bountiful pontiff's permission to enter Rome to fulfill his prayers and vows and God's various churches. [They ratified their oaths to one another] straightaway the kings of the Franks and his judges and people entered Rome with the pontiff.<sup>13</sup>

In this account, Charlemagne humbled himself before the shrine of Peter and Peter's earthly representative, the bishop of Rome, recalling the *adventus* narratives of Constantine and Honorius, both written in the fifth century, who laid aside their imperial regalia before the tomb of the apostle.<sup>14</sup> For Christian rulers, the humbling of the emperor before the tombs of the apostles was a part of the ceremony that distinctly separated it from the pagan imperial triumph. As John Chrysostom's fourth-century homily on 2 Corinthians exhorted:

For he that wears the purple himself goes to embrace those tombs, and, laying aside his pride, stands begging the saints to be his advocates with God, and he that has the diadem implores the tent-maker [St. Paul] and the fisherman [St. Peter], though dead, to be his patrons.<sup>15</sup>

Charlemagne's *adventus* was consciously patterned on a late antique model of Christian emperors, but the holy places were in continuous motion. The *Liber Pontificalis* demonstrated the role the popes wished to show themselves playing by mediating the meeting of the northern king with the tomb of the prince of the apostles, with Charlemagne asking the pope's permission to enter the city and worship at the intramural churches and venerate the martyrs there. The early medieval bishops of Rome were in the process of trying to make the *urbs Romana* both the real and the metonymic equivalent of the papacy.<sup>16</sup> The equating the papacy and Rome saw the sacred nature of the places (and authority over them) changing over time. Throughout the early Middle Ages, northerners saw Rome was a real, sacred place important for its relics, its ancient churches, and association with Saint Peter and other Roman martyrs.

### **Rome as a real place**

Whether king or emperor or ordinary pilgrim, once in the city, early medieval visitors to Rome were surrounded by material culture of the city: the ancient monuments, the late antique Christian churches, and the buildings of their present day, including homes, workshops, and retail shops. While this layering of past and present exists in every old city, the material culture and physical remains of ancient and late antique Rome linked the Romans of the past and of their present with Christians, both past and present.<sup>17</sup> The spatial aspect of *romanitas* allowed visitors to access the city physically and spiritually. The geographical reality of monuments and tombs, whether originally pagan or Christian, was overlaid with the spatial imagination of both Rome's natives and her visitors. For instance, a large red granite Egyptian obelisk was brought to Rome from the Forum Julium in Alexandria, Egypt, in 37 CE by Emperor Caligula. In Rome, the obelisk stood on the site of Circus of Nero on Vatican Hill, the site of Peter's martyrdom; it was the only ancient obelisk to remain standing throughout the Middle Ages.<sup>18</sup> Medieval guidebooks called it "St. Peter's Needle," as it stood directly beside the basilica of Old St.



pagan Romans, Caesar, with the most important of the Christian Romans, Peter. The spatial imagination of the visitors displayed the power and holiness of both ancient imperial Rome and late antique Christian Rome. For an early medieval pilgrim, the association between the physical remains and monuments of the great Romans of the past linked them with the present, real-and-imagined places that joined both past memory and present experience.

The physical and spiritual accessibility of a holy place like Rome included the practical, not just the monumental. The area around what is now the Vatican, the *Civitas Leonina*, or the Leonine City, was the central area for the reception, room, and board for pilgrims and religious travelers in Rome.<sup>19</sup> Now called the Borgo district, the name comes from the Germanic word *burgus* for “town,” first documented in the ninth century when discussing the English foreigners that were housed in that part of the city.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, the area was not entirely a part of the city of Rome until the early modern period. Situated across the Tiber from Rome proper, the Leonine neighborhood was an entirely medieval construction, unlike most the Roman spatial landscape. By 850, the entire area was surrounded by Leonine walls (mostly still standing today), built following a Muslim raid in 846, forming a rectangle between the Castel S. Angelo and the Vatican Hill.<sup>21</sup> Castel S. Angelo had been the tomb of Emperor Hadrian until 401 when it was converted into a fortress, part of the fortifications around the basilica of Old St. Peter’s, which was built during over the course of the fourth century. The protection of the sacred places, not only with walls but also with a repurposed imperial tomb, linked the ancient and the contemporary in the minds of pilgrims and visitors. The basilica itself on the Vatican Hill was built on the site of the necropolis where Peter was reputed to have been buried after his execution at the nearby Circus of Nero in the late first century CE. In the early Middle Ages, all that lay beyond Vatican Hill was open land. From the late fifth century, the basilica was used as the burial site for the bishops of Rome, and the site was continually improved with building projects. These included the covered *porticus* leading to the basilica from the bridge over the Tiber built by Pope Symmachus (498–514) and the semi-annular crypt passage around Peter’s tomb that allowed the faithful to venerate his relics without disturbing the services above, built by Gregory the Great (590–604).<sup>22</sup> These improvements allowed for a wider accessibility of the holy places to a greater number of people, those who visited Rome seeking access to authentic Christian holy places. Throughout the early Middle Ages, Old Saint Peter’s was subject to continuous accretions; the *Liber Pontificalis* details the building of subsidiary chapels, the creation of silk curtains and vestments, and the donation of liturgical objects and plate made from gold and silver. Most of this material culture from early medieval Rome is missing; treasure lost to time.<sup>23</sup> Beyond the gradual accumulation of layers for building itself, the basilica housed relics of saints other than Peter as well as new burials of the bishops of Rome themselves. For early medieval people, the addition of new holy dead did not decrease Peter’s prominence, but instead added to the efficacy of the holy place, embodying the power of the holy dead.



Built on the site of a Roman necropolis on the *Mons Vaticanus* that was partially leveled to make way for the basilica, Old St. Peter's was essentially a covered cemetery. It was periodically added to with the remains of the fortunate few who became bishops of Rome, who added their own aesthetics while alive, as well as their own bodies after their deaths, to contribute to the sanctity of the place.

The tomb of Peter and its surrounding basilica might seem static, but the constant structural changes and the additions of new papal tombs meant that it was a place in motion, with the constancy of the veneration of Peter belied by the changes in the holy place itself. There was a connection between the richly decorated holy place and spatial imagination of the early medieval visitors. The significance of the location amplified the power and holiness of both those who were venerated (apostles, saints, and popes alike) and those who did the venerating, as the latter returned home having been in the presence of the holy dead, proximate to the miracles of the Christian past and those of their present day. Spiritual and physical places formulated an idea of Romanness for the northern visitors to Rome. Both geographical movement to a real place and the metaphorical movement of the changes in *romanitas* are seen in the physical and spiritual access to the holy places.

However, the landscape encountered by travelers to Rome was not just imagined sacred space. Early medieval Rome buzzed with foreigners, pilgrims, merchants, and all kinds of itinerant people. Travelers needed to have their basic human needs met, and the reception and housing of pilgrims were critical not just to pilgrims themselves, but for the economy of the inhabitants of Rome.<sup>24</sup> While hospitality was a near-universal virtue for Christians, Muslims, and even pagans in the early Middle Ages, cities with many tourists are often scornful of them. The basilica of Old St. Peter's was not the only building on that side of Tiber. The city also developed *xenodochia* there, which were a combination of lodgings for travelers, hospitals for the sick, and housing for the itinerant poor. These began in the late antique and early medieval period; by the later Middle Ages, *xenodochia* had become full-fledged hospitals, often run by the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. As early as the fourth century, Jerome praised the Roman senator Pammachius for establishing a *xenodochium* at Portus, the central harbor town that served Rome in that period.<sup>25</sup> Around 500, the bishops of Rome took on the responsibility of the distribution of the grain supply to the city inhabitants, replacing the "prefects of the annona," who were the imperial bureaucrats who had held that responsibility in the ancient period.<sup>26</sup> The bishops of Rome were aided by the alms for the poor from local elites, foreign kings, and other magnates. *Romanitas* as a function of spatial imagination also included those places in which Christians might live out their Christian beliefs, especially in the form of alms for the poor or the housing of strangers. In the sixth century, the abandoned ancient stadium of the *Naumachia Vaticana* (used for entertainment purposes for the staging of naval battles since the first or second century) was repurposed to create housing. In the mid-sixth century, the neighborhood was known as the *regio naumachiae*; by the ninth century, the entire area was known as "*burgus sancti petri*," now called the Borgo di San Pietro. The missionary saint Boniface stayed at *xenodochia* when in the city; on his second trip to Rome, summoned by the pope from Germany ca. 722–23, his first stop was St.

Peter's for prayer. Boniface then sent a message to the pope to let him know that he had arrived, and "he was indeed well received, and brought to the hostel [cenodochium]." <sup>27</sup> In a busy metropolis like Rome, with its constant influx of pilgrims, wealthy Christians did not let people into their homes, but instead they founded hostels, guest-houses, or *xenodochia* for the express purpose of housing strangers.

There was a *xenodochium* in the *Naumachia Vaticana* dedicated to St. Peregrinus of Auxerre. Peregrinus was said to have been appointed by Pope Sixtus II (257–58) to evangelize Burgundy, becoming the first bishop of Auxerre, though his earliest saint's life is from the sixth century. <sup>28</sup> In 807, Pope Leo III named the hostel for this too-aptly named wandering "Peregrinus" and endowed it with urban and rural estates to support Christ's poor and strangers and pilgrims coming from distant lands. <sup>29</sup> Just a decade later, Pope Pascal I reendowed the hostel that had fallen into poverty, confirming a charter for the community of monks there with "farms, homesteads and estates, tenants and houses, households and everything...in the way of lands, vines, houses and rural households." <sup>30</sup> The *Liber Pontificalis* identified at least a dozen popes who built or refurbished Roman *xenodochia* as shelters for the itinerant and poor in and around St. Peter's, as well as at the extramural churches at San Paolo and San Lorenzo, all of which were hubs of pilgrimage. <sup>31</sup> Pope Stephen II (752–57) constructed a new *xenodochium* and restored four inside the city walls, and built an additional two *xenodochia* near St. Peter's. <sup>32</sup> These dwellings for the itinerant and poor, both the voluntary and involuntary, represented a conscious attempt by the bishops of Rome to create three main entry and housing sites for those arriving at the city. The first was St. Peter's, for those from the north arriving on the *Viae Triumphalis* and *Flaminia* (the so-called "*Via Francigena*"). The second was San Paolo fuori li mura in the south, for those arriving from the port of Ostia or Portus on the *Via Ostiensis*. The last was San Lorenzo fuori li mura in the east for those coming from Latium or the Adriatic on the *Via Tiburtina*. They also represent a different kind of holy places, which were not the tombs of the saints or ancient churches, but places of Christian action where Christ's injunction to love one's neighbor encountered the practical need to provide lodging for foreign pilgrims and visitors.

Pilgrims were not necessarily elites, and a portion of those who traveled to Rome required public assistance when they arrived. Those that were wealthy enough subsidized both foreign and local itinerant poor through almsgiving and charity. <sup>33</sup> One such itinerant saint was Amandus (584–675), a missionary and wanderer from Aquitaine who preached in Frisia and Saxony, and ended his days as the bishop of Maastricht. Amandus' anonymous hagiographer wrote that the saint traveled to Rome twice. The first time, he went with a single companion "traveling through remote and rough places," before reaching Rome. <sup>34</sup> He was there as a pilgrim to see the famous churches of the city during the day, although it seems that he did not have a place to stay at night. While hostels were founded for the care of pilgrims, especially in Jerusalem and Rome, people also slipped through the cracks, either by accident or design, as the hagiographer related.

In fact on a certain day, with evening approaching, the guards did their duty by removing everyone, as was the custom in the church. The holy man of god Amandus remained in the church a little bit, desiring to keep a vigil there all night. Then one of the guards found him and ejected him from the church, treating him with contempt and with many insults. However, as he was sitting in a mental trance on the stairs before the doors of the church, saint Peter appeared to him at once, and he spoke to him and admonished him with a gentle and mild tone that he ought to return to Gaul to preach.<sup>35</sup>

While the hagiographer decried the lack of reverence shown to a holy man wishing to hold a vigil at St. Peter's tomb, this was not a simple lack of hospitality for foreigners. In Old St. Peter's, the guards were charged not with protecting pilgrims, but with expelling them from the city's churches after hours, a case of the inevitable conflict between the ideal of hospitality for Christian pilgrims and the reality of a busy urban church. Amandus was treated like the itinerant wanderer he was, with guards clearing the great basilica at night from anyone who might wish to use it as shelter, whether for prayer or a roof at night. The contempt shown for the saint was not just that demonstrated by locals in a tourist city, but the scorn of the settled for the itinerant, the wealthy for the undeserving poor. The passage echoes uncomfortably even a modern context, with security guards or police removing the homeless from churches and hospitals, possibly accompanied by disrespect or curses. The role of the poor in the Leonine neighborhood around the area of the basilica sheds light on the Amandus' ouster from the church after hours. Gregory of Tours tells the story of a homeless drunk ("homo pauperculus, crapulatus a vino") who fell asleep in the corner of St. Peter's basilica without being roused by the custodians.<sup>36</sup> The line between the itinerant pilgrim and the itinerant poor man might be thin indeed. The unified *romanitas* that was sought by those who recognized the power and holiness of the sacred places of Rome fell down in the face of some practical conflicts in a real urban space.

The various people living in and visiting Rome met not just in the holy places and churches imbued with the power and holiness of the sacred, but in the public spaces as well. To the west of the Old St. Peter's basilica (between the Tiber and the basilica) was an open space called the Platea Maior, with much the same geography and usage of the modern Piazza San Pietro today. There was an eighth-century papal palace on the southern end of the Platea and an eighth- or ninth-century Carolingian palace on the northern side.<sup>37</sup> It was not just the pilgrims' hostels that brought in visitors; the two great palaces on the Platea Maior housed rulers and their entourages from Francia and across Christendom, who also bought food and goods in the markets, and occasionally died and needed burial in the city's extramural churches and cemeteries. Running from the Platea Maior to the Ponte S. Petri over the Tiber was the covered Porticus S. Petri, the main thoroughfare for pilgrims and locals alike. There were at least five hostels to provide for pilgrims clustered in this extramural city; six monasteries to serve both the basilica and the hostels, one of which was specifically set aside to cater to the footsore; cells attached to the basilica for hermits and for the poor; a poorhouse for the needy or indigent;

houses attached to the atrium of the basilica for clergy and laymen serving the church; and finally, out in the middle of the Platea, a fountain and lavatory.<sup>38</sup> From the ninth century onwards, support for specific groups of pilgrims and travelers was provided by the *scholae peregrinorum*.<sup>39</sup> These were institutions supported by donations from their own groups for the care of migrants, especially those who stayed in the city as expatriates or religious migrants. They also functioned as civic organizations, as when they turned out to greet Pope Leo III upon his return to Rome from Paderborn, Germany, following his temporary exile in 799. Among the groups who showed up to greet the bishop of Rome were “all of the *scholae* of foreigners — Franks, Frisians, Saxons and Lombards.”<sup>40</sup> The *schola francorum* was attached to the south arm of the transept of Old St. Peter’s.<sup>41</sup>

The pilgrims and travelers were the economic engines for much of the city, and for the Leonine City in particular. Without them, the bishops of Rome could not demonstrate their claim to special spiritual authority to the northern world. The power and holiness of not just the city, but the development of papal authority connected to the city’s holiness, needed the actual northerners to participate. These people traveled to Rome, and charisma of distant places attached to them through the city’s association with Peter and Paul, the martyrs, and the increasing spiritual authority of the bishops of Rome. This practical worth of the *scholae* and neighborhoods full of northerners is demonstrated in the reaction of the compilers of the *Liber Pontificalis* to a fire in the Leonine City at the beginning of Paschal’s pontificate in 817.

Through the carelessness of some men of English race, their whole quarter, called *burgus* in their language, was so burnt with an abounding flame of fire, that not even traces of their former dwelling could be found in that place... So afterwards the thrice-blessed pastor [Paschal I], noticing the need of those pilgrims, which had crept in through the plotting of the devil’s trickery, bestowed so many gifts and benefits for their needs, as he was ever accustomed to do; he supplied everything abundantly, gold and silver, clothing for their bodies as well as the rest of the nourishment needed. Also, a quantity of trees to provide timber, so that they could restore their homes as required in the same place as they had been before.<sup>42</sup>

The wooden dwellings and markets of the Leonine City housed the northern travelers who drove the economic engine of the city; it’s no wonder then when they had been destroyed by fire, Paschal made a point of providing funds for them to be rebuilt at the bishopric’s expense. Investing in the rebuilding of the Borgo and *scholae* of the northerners not only housed pilgrims and strangers as commanded by scripture but also reinforced the pope’s economic and spiritual power as the gatekeeper to the sanctity of the city’s relics and the donations by those who came to visit the holy places.

In addition to being the place where pilgrims and visitors stayed during their time in Rome, the Leonine City was the section of Rome most focused on commercial activity, with food and drink shops (*tabernae*), workshops and

retail shops (both called *ergasteria*, not necessarily distinguishing between production and sale), and markets. Romans generated income off those visiting their city, bartering and selling local goods, feeding visitors, and even swindling the foreigners. Pilgrims and travelers provided a significant portion of the church's revenue, including leasing church land to Roman citizens to set up their shops and markets for goods, collecting the possessions of those pilgrims who died in the city, as the church was entitled to their assets, as well as direct altar offerings.<sup>43</sup> When Boniface and his company safely arrived in Rome for the first time in 718, they went to St. Peter's where "many of them offered up gifts, begging absolution of their sins."<sup>44</sup> Few but significant numbers of Anglo-Saxon coins, as well as Frankish and Lombard, in both hoards and as single finds have been found in Rome from before 1000, as well as in Italy along the pilgrim routes, for instance at Aosta, just over the Great St. Bernard Pass in the Italian Alps.<sup>45</sup> Only local currency was accepted in Rome, so the silver coins from northern kingdoms do not represent everyday transactions.<sup>46</sup> They were likely offerings to churches by individual pilgrims, or the so-called "Peter's Pence," the obligation of every English household to pay a one penny tithe each year to Rome that developed in the late ninth and tenth centuries.<sup>47</sup> Conversely, only a handful of papal coins have been found in northern Europe from before 850, likely kept as keepsakes or curiosities. The movement of English and Frankish wealth to Rome in the early Middle Ages was for the most part one-way. These numismatic links between Italy and northern Europe represent a convergence between the religious and economic forces encouraging long-distance travel, with pilgrims and merchants and others bringing money with them to trade for goods and services and to donate to the churches and saints of Rome for their presumed spiritual benefits. The spiritual benefits of alms had real economic consequences both for the donor and the recipients, and Rome had a well-developed system of charity for its own poor and those who traveled to the city in the form of *diaconiae*, which were ecclesiastical grain-distribution centers that had replaced the imperial government's *anonna* grain distribution. *Romanitas* in the early medieval period then was not an expression of the old imperial ideology of the city as *caput mundi*, the center of the world. Instead, for non-Romans, particularly northerners, the city's importance lay in its historical links to the Roman past and its current status as a holy place, a conduit to approach the martyrs of the early church.

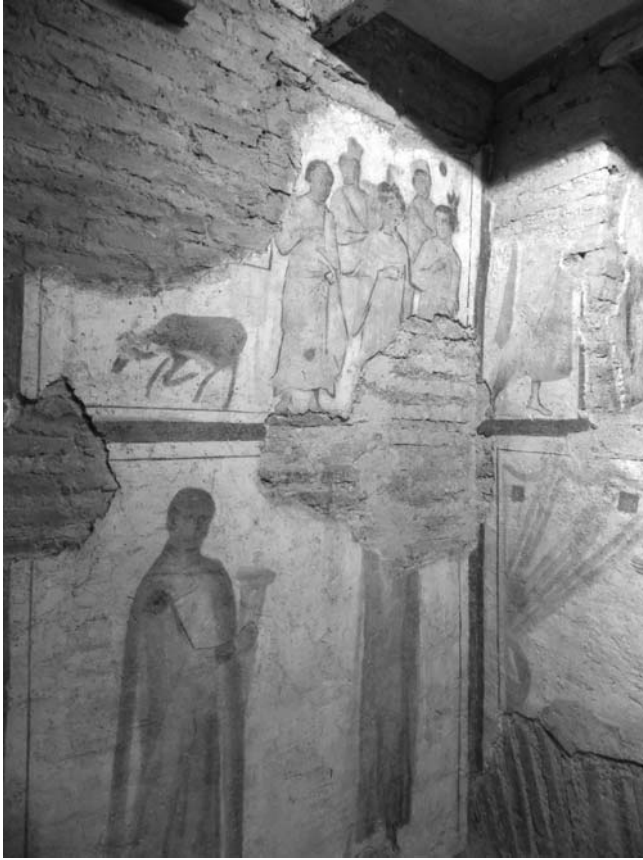
## Experiencing Rome

How might we reconstruct the experience of the tourist-pilgrim? One route is through the experience of the aristocratic bishop of Rouen, Dado (609–86), who spent most of his life in northern France, except for his pilgrimage to Rome. As his hagiographer described, Dado sought to worship in the churches of the apostles, Peter and Paul, in Rome. And so he:

visited the monuments of the saints, and having prostrated his body on their pavements, he affixed his kisses, devotedly fulfilling what he had long desired. And thus the man of God, supported by the approval of the saints, wandered all through the places of the saints seeking the benefit of their prayers. He took relics of many saints with him, and with the angel of the Lord as his companion, he returned to the regions of the Gauls.<sup>48</sup>

Dado seemed to have two ostensible purposes in Rome. First, he wished to visit the “places of saints,” presumably both extramural and intramural, to venerate the holy men and women of early Christianity. Second, he wished to take the relics of the saints home with him to bring the charisma of distant places near. While Dado was also visiting the heart of the old Roman empire, of which he was an elite representative as a Gallo-Roman serving the Merovingian kings, the saint’s life focuses exclusively on his experience as a Christian pilgrim-cum-tourist.

There are important witnesses to northern pilgrims’ experiences in the city of Rome in the form of early tourists’ “guidebooks,” three of which survive from seventh-century Francia and England, and one from eighth-century Francia.<sup>49</sup> These were not guidebooks in the modern sense. Each contain lists of important Christian sites, often in a particular geographical order. For instance, the *Notitia ecclesiarum urbis romae*, compiled in the first half of the century during the pontificate of Honorius I (625–638), lists the important extramural churches starting at the Porta Flamina in the north and moving clockwise from gate to gate around the city to end at the Porta S. Pietro.<sup>50</sup> So where might the seventh-century Frankish bishop have gone and what would he have seen or experienced there? While a significant portion of the holy places of martyrdom and burial were in the extramural catacombs and churches, the churches inside the Aurelian walls held their own attractions. These were aided in the eighth and ninth centuries by the increasing number of relic translations from the catacombs outside to the intramural churches. For instance, Pascal I (r. 817–24) moved the extramural relics of Cecilia to his new foundation Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, likewise with Santa Prassede.<sup>51</sup> One church with its relics that predated these translations was SS. Giovanni e Paolo, the only intramural church mentioned in all three of the surviving itineraries from the seventh century.<sup>52</sup> The two saints died in the persecutions by Emperor Julian the Apostate in 362 and were buried in the stairwell of their own villa on the Caelian Hill, celebrated shortly after by an inscription by Pope Damasus I (r. 366–84).<sup>53</sup> Pope Damasus was instrumental in cultivating the veneration of the Roman martyrs, creating access to their tombs as well as setting up tablets with verse inscriptions about the deeds of these saints. In the fifth century, a basilica was built atop the fourth-century villa; the shrine to the martyrs below the church consisted of a platform that had been set into the original staircase with a small window so that the faithful could gaze upon the pit where they had been buried. The crypt was decorated with fourth-century frescoes depicting the martyrdom of the saints, as well as



*Figure 3.1* Relic shrine beneath the Church of SS. Giovanni et Paolo, Rome.  
*Source:* Image courtesy of Domenico Nardone.

the lives of three other local saints, Crispin, Crispinianus, and Benedicta; the frescoes are the earliest surviving images of hagiographic narratives.

The frescoes told the story of the martyrs as the pilgrim encountered their physical remains through the small window into the saints' burial place, combining a visual and textual experience with that of the holy relics themselves. The combination of both the place of martyrdom and the actual bones of the saints in a single location made it a site of extraordinary power and holiness. While relics were portable and were, in fact, being moved around the city and to places beyond Rome, the difference between Rome and other places was that the relics combined with the original holy place of burial or martyrdom. This was a kind of archaeological "proof" in the form of the fourth-century crypt with its frescoed images and Damasian inscription that was under the "new" fifth-century basilica.<sup>54</sup> The fresco as a medium absorbs

pigment into fresh plaster, becoming an integral part of the architecture, inseparable from the holy place and exposed to the elements that humanity brings indoors, including humidity from weather and breath, and smoke from candles or incense. The Damasan inscription encouraged veneration; often the information in the *itineraria* used by later visitors and pilgrims was based on these inscriptions and epitaphs.<sup>55</sup> At SS. Giovanni e Paolo and all over Rome, these sacred places mattered, not only for the relics of the saints' bodies, but also relics of the architectural history of Rome, both of which were objects of desire and devotion.<sup>56</sup> To an early medieval pilgrim, the spatial imagination invoked by this combination of relic, fresco, and inscription in an ancient tomb under an intramural basilica was a powerful connection to early Christianity and the stories of the martyrs. A pilgrim like Dado sought to "wander the holy places" seeking connections to a Roman Christian past through physical locations and physical remains, an experience that pilgrims found very real and very powerful.

Dado and other pilgrims did not simply seek a tangible connection with the divine through the holy places, but also "the benefit of their prayers," the saints' spiritual intervention for the pilgrim in heaven. This relationship between pilgrims and the Roman martyrs as intermediaries is exemplified in another intramural church with a history that connected it to the ancient world as well as the early medieval one, the Church of SS. Cosma e Damiano, dedicated to twin Syrian physician-martyrs from the third century. It was the first known church established on the Forum Romanum, founded by Pope Felix IV (526–30), mentioned in the guidebook *Ecclesiae intus Romae*, compiled circa 625–45.<sup>57</sup> SS. Cosma e Damiano utilized the old monumental architecture of the pagan past, as the church had been part of the Forum of Peace, an ancient meeting place for physicians and healers and a Roman imperial building with a new Christian function.<sup>58</sup> Any visitor to the church, pilgrim or local, would have encountered the apse mosaic, the first in Rome to show the Risen Christ with the church's titular saints, while also depicting the patron of the church, Felix, as witness and participant.<sup>59</sup>

Like the fresco, the mosaic became a part of the sacred architecture of a building. However, mosaics were a more labor-intensive and costlier medium than frescoes, demonstrating an elite patron's wealth and status. The mosaic was more resistant to structural ruptures; if there were an earthquake, a fresco wall might break and shatter. While a mosaic would undoubtedly lose tesserae, these could be re-inserted over and over, a process that allows caretakers to repair it and allowing it to endure for centuries.<sup>60</sup> Likewise, while sunlight might fade and damage a fresco over time, a mosaic depends upon light for its numinous quality, radiating earthly light as a proxy for heavenly light. The image in SS. Cosma e Damiano of Christ in golden robes standing upon reddish clouds in a field of deep blue emphasizes the idea of heaven as an otherworldly realm, but one that can be accessed by the viewer in the contemporary world through the shining mosaic. Below the image, a





Figure 3.2 Apse mosaic of the Church of SS. Cosma e Damiano, Rome.  
Source: Image courtesy of Alamy.

hexameter inscription in golden capitals on a deep blue background textually mirrors the message of the image.

With bright metals, the splendid hall of God shines,  
in which the precious light of faith flashes even more radiantly.  
From the martyr-physicians unshakeable hope  
of being healed has come to the people,  
and the place has grown by virtue of [its] sacred honor.  
Felix has offered the Lord this gift, worthy of a bishop,  
That he may live in the heights of heaven.<sup>61</sup>

The text that accompanies the image does not describe the figures, but instead emphasizes the luminosity of the mosaic and focuses on the reason that the original viewers encountered the artwork, the desire for healing from the physician saints. The image and the building represent the “unshakeable hope” of a miracle, the cure of a disease or injury, the physical encounter of the people who visit with the divine, the holy place in which the ordinary and the extraordinary meet. Felix, as bishop of Rome, offered the gift of a permanent visual representation of the holiness of the place, the visual, architectural, and physical becoming one with the miraculous, the numinous, the ineffable. For the early medieval visitor, the light of faith was made manifest in the shining mosaic embedded in the holy place dedicated to healers.

About a century after Dado of Rouen's pilgrimage to Rome, Boniface of Fulda made his final visit to the city in 737–38. After a long and painful journey, he spent almost a year in Rome, "visiting and praying at the shrines of the saints...and returned home, carrying with him many gifts and sacred relics of the saints."<sup>62</sup> Boniface traveled three times to Rome, connecting himself with Christ through St. Peter, as so many other religious travelers did. Sainthood travel to Rome imbued Boniface with association that the horizontal distance that he had traveled made him closer to God, and the audience gained the same relationship through venerating the saint. Unlike the earlier sixth- and seventh-century pilgrims, a new development of eighth-century hagiography was the extension of the papacy itself to this conception of Rome as an important religious landscape. In the sixth century, it was the city of Rome that afforded this closeness; the bishop of Rome was a guarantor of theological and historical authenticity, not the head of a unified and hierarchical church.<sup>63</sup> Any sense of a Frankish pre-Bonifatian veneration for Rome which might be equated with papal authority is lacking.<sup>64</sup> Boniface, however, had a special veneration of St. Peter and the papacy that was new to the spatial landscape of religious travel in the eighth century. Boniface requested a copy of the Petrine epistles written in gold from his friend Eadburga, abbess of Minster in Thanet, saying that he wished "to have ever present before me the words of him who is my guide upon this road" and that they should be in gold "to impress honor and reverence for the Sacred Scriptures visibly upon the carnally minded to whom I preach."<sup>65</sup> The physicality of the letters of St. Peter written in gold in a holy book mirrors the physicality the shining golden tesserae of the inscription of the apse mosaic in SS. Cosma e Damiano, spelling out the hopes of the faithful for both a physical and spiritual connection with the sacred places and holy people of Rome.

The martyrs of Rome held a special kind of power within the experience of the pilgrim visiting the holy places, the holiness of ancient martyrdom for the faith that was mostly unavailable to access directly in the rest of Western Europe that had not experienced the sustained pagan Roman persecutions. A different kind of holy place awaited the pilgrim outside the city walls, an encounter with not just the dedication to distant Syrian saints like Cosma and Damiano or the underground crypt of Giovanni and Paolo, but above ground basilicas and their catacombs that housed the relics, the bones of Roman martyrs. The three seventh-century *itineraria* focus on the extramural churches and catacombs, with many being mentioned in all three guidebooks. The church of Sant'Agnese fuori le mura on the *Via Nomentana* is mentioned in all three early *itineraria*, and it also contains a surviving apse mosaic of the same century, created between 625–38, though it has been heavily restored.<sup>66</sup> The mosaic has St. Agnes herself as the central figure, flanked by the patrons of the church, tentatively identified as Pope Honorius (r. 625–38) to her left holding a model of the church he funded, and to her right, holding a book, possibly Pope Symmachus (r. 498–514) who was said to have built the basilica that Honorius' foundation was replacing. The saints' background is made

entirely of golden tesserae, which is still a dazzling sight. The *Notitia ecclesiae* mentions explicitly Honorius and his restoration of the basilica, calling it beautiful (*formosa*). On the mosaic itself, the accompanying seventh-century hexameter poetic inscription relates: "A golden picture arises from specks of metal / and daylight itself, shut out [from here], embracing it, is in it enclosed."<sup>67</sup> The basilica contains a second-level gallery, a *matroneum*, a space likely set aside for elite consecrated women.<sup>68</sup> Sant'Agnese is next to Santa Constanza, the fourth-century mausoleum of Emperor Constantine's daughter Constantina, who was devoted to Agnes the child-martyr. Near these two churches, there was a convent established perhaps as early as the sixth century; the *Via Nomentana* had a significant presence of women and shrines devoted to holy women. The authorship of some of "martyr romances" written in the Italian peninsula during the fifth and sixth centuries was likely female as well.<sup>69</sup> Abbess Bugga of Kent wrote to Boniface in 720 apologizing for not sending a copy of the martyrs' *passiones* for him.<sup>70</sup> In this distinctive genre of text, there were many female martyrs (Agnes, Juliana, Cecilia, Juliana, Agatha, Thecla, etc.) and these women were venerated north of the Alps, especially in women's monastic foundations with Frankish and Anglo-Saxon cultural roots.<sup>71</sup> A manuscript written at the nunnery of Kitzingen, Bavaria, in the 740s contains an abbreviated passion of Agnes that discusses a night-long vigil at her tomb on the *Via Nomentana*.<sup>72</sup> Women from the north, especially from the circle of Boniface in the early eighth century, went on pilgrimages to Rome. A letter to Boniface from Abbess Eangyth and her daughter Heaburg, cognomen Bugga, ca. 719–22, communicated the deep desire of northern women to go on pilgrimage to Rome: "We have long wished to go to Rome, once mistress of the world, as many of our friends, both relatives and strangers, have done."<sup>73</sup> The women struggled with the disapproval their travel might bring. In 738, Boniface wrote to Abbess Bugga, replying to her letter about whether she should travel to Rome on pilgrimage. He advised that she might find:

freedom of contemplation by means of a pilgrimage, if you so desire and are able, as our sister Wiethburga did. She has written me that she has found at the shrine of St. Peter the kind of quiet life which she had long sought in vain.<sup>74</sup>

While Boniface's advice was about Bugga's spiritual desires for travel, Wiethburga had practical advice for Bugga as a pilgrim: wait until the Muslim attacks on the city had subsided. Boniface advised Bugga to prepare for her journey and wait for Wiethburga's invitation to Rome when it was safe. Bugga did go to Rome, and she and Boniface toured the holy places together.<sup>75</sup>

The single surviving *itinerarium* from the eighth century, the *Einsiedeln Itinerary*, was produced by an anonymous monk in Germany, likely at

Fulda or within the Bonifatian monastic milieu in about the 780s during the reign of Charlemagne.<sup>76</sup> Fulda was a stop for northern pilgrims headed south, and there was a pilgrim's hospice there, as one hagiographer described visits from Spanish pilgrims.<sup>77</sup> The *Einsiedeln Itinerary* is focused less on the extramural churches (except for St. Peter's) and more on the intramural churches and it contains ten different complete walking tours, most starting at one extramural gate and ending at another, passing by significant sites within the city walls. Some scholars have speculated that it may have been based on a graphic depiction of Rome, as Einhard said that Charlemagne possessed two silver maps, one of Rome and one of Constantinople, and a third, of gold that depicted the entire world.<sup>78</sup> As with the other *itineraria*, it survives in a unique manuscript and was not meant to be used by a pilgrim while traveling, but survived as a form of aide-mémoire or mental map for those who wished to experience the holy places in textual form, a formal, verbal tool for describing urban space for a society that generally did not use maps.<sup>79</sup> Within the *Einsiedeln Itinerary*, the eighth walking tour is one of the longest, which took the visitor from the western gate of the Porta S. Petri in the Leonine City through the center of the ancient Roman city (with the forum and the Capitoline and Palatine hills) through to the eastern gate of the Porta Asinaria (see Map 3.1).

The manuscript itself is organized across two pages recto and verso, with the title in red capitals running across both pages, "A PORTA SCĪ PETRI USQUE / PORTA ASINARIA".<sup>80</sup> On the verso, the author listed the monuments and sights one would see on his left side, on the recto he lists the sights on his right side. For instance, as the pilgrim walked along the *Via Recta* from the Petrine Gate, the first sight listed on his left was the Circus Flaminius (also known as the Stadium of Domitian or the Circus Agonalis) which was known as the site of the martyrdom of St. Agnes (now the church Sant'Agnese in Agone).<sup>81</sup> Further along on the right was the church of San Lorenzo in Damaso, a church dedicated to the Roman martyr St. Laurence and said to have been built in the 380s by Pope Damasus.<sup>82</sup> The route took the pilgrim through the heart of the ancient city, past Trajan's Column and Santa Maria Antiqua and onwards to St. John Lateran and ending at the eastern gate, Porta Asinaria. Santa Maria Antiqua was on the forum, brought into use as a Christian church by the early sixth century, and then abandoned in 847 following an earthquake.<sup>83</sup> The frescoes of the church with various layers of painting (revealed because of the ninth century earthquake damage created a "palimpsest wall") showed the changes over time to the decoration and patronage of the church. Many ancient monuments and buildings within the Aurelian walls were repurposed for Christian use in late antiquity and the "experience of early medieval Rome was not one of sharp divides between the urban elements of antiquity and modernity (that is, medieval). Standing monuments were attractions to pilgrims."<sup>84</sup> Pilgrims and visitors to Rome marveled at the antiquities there, from imperial monuments to

Christian basilicas, understanding them in ways that were particular to their own time and place. The experience of the holy places of early medieval Rome connected the pilgrim to the long history of the city, forming a new kind of *romanitas* that was physically accessible to northerners who journeyed to Rome, but also those who experienced the holy sites through their spiritual imagination in the *passiones* of the martyrs, the *vitae* of religious travelers, and the aide-memoire of the guidebooks. The holy places were both real and imagined, experienced directly and indirectly, creating an identity for northern people through a united Christian church dependent upon the charisma of the distant holy place of Rome.

### Relics and portable holiness

Beyond the spiritual efficacy of prayer and being close to the holy places, most pilgrims, from Dado of Rouen to Boniface of Fulda, also sought and succeeded in taking pieces of the holy city and holy dead home with him in the form of relics. Relic collection from Rome to Francia was a meaningful way to bridge distances: the distance of time, as relics connected their venerators to the lives of the ancient holy dead, from Jesus to the early Christian martyrs; the distance of geography, as relics promised to bring the charisma of distant places near; and most importantly, the distance between heaven and earth, as the holy object connected a living person to the divine. A relic offered reassurance that the past retains its authority, collapsing the distance of time. A relic was also a sign of previous power, real or imagined, and for the venerator, it's very substance promised to put that power back to work.<sup>85</sup> Dado of Rouen went on pilgrimage to venerate the saints in the places of their martyrdom, and to bring back relics to his native Francia. For a missionary like Boniface, the relic was a portable piece of the Christian past, and he took relics of Roman martyrs to Germany to use in converting the people of Bavaria and Thuringia.<sup>86</sup> This charisma of distant places clung to the foreign missionary and his Roman relics, and he hoped that German pagans might be given demonstrable proof, in the form of miracles or closeness with the sacred, of the power of the Christian God. While this charismatic authority adhered to holy travelers like Dado and Boniface, it also adhered to the objects from these places, made holy by their association with the saints, but in particular with the saints of Rome, far away but brought close in the spiritual imagination of pilgrim, hagiographer, and audience, and the contemporary viewers or venerators of the objects.

Prior to the eighth century, the remains of the holy dead remained mostly outside the city walls of Rome where they had been originally buried in late antique cemeteries, often with great basilicas being built around them, as was the case with San Paolo, San Lorenzo, and Sant'Agnese, all "fuori le

mura".<sup>87</sup> Gregory the Great (590–604) refused to translate the relics of the saints away from the city of Rome; for instance in 594 Constantina, the sister of the Byzantine Emperor Maurice I, asked him for the head of the apostle Paul for a church she had founded in Constantinople and was refused on the grounds that moving it would cause terrible punishments.<sup>88</sup> Gregory did offer to provide contact relics, such as a piece of cloth ("brandeum") that had been inside the reliquary ("pyxide") with the bones of the martyrs. He acknowledged that some Greeks doubted the efficacy of such relics; to Constantina, he offered the anecdote that Pope Leo III had cut one such cloth in front of such doubters, and the cloth had bled from the incision.

There were significant numbers of church dedications to Peter and Paul north of the Alps. The spread of the cult of the martyrs, and especially the Petrine cult in Francia and England in the early Middle Ages depended upon these secondary relics (for instance, filings from the chains of St. Peter) and tertiary relics (oil from the lamps that burned before the saint's tomb on Vatican Hill).

Gregory regularly provided such contact relics to northern elites; the Monza-Bobbio collection of *ampullae* from Jerusalem also contained oil from the tombs of the Roman martyrs, given by Gregory the Great to the Lombard queen Theodolinda according to the papyrus list (*notula*) that accompanied them.<sup>89</sup> Gregory the Great created the Niche of the Pallia at the tomb of St. Peter as a new location for the incubation of these relics (oil, cloth, dust, etc.).<sup>90</sup> Petrine relics in the form of small pieces of cloth (*panna*) were placed on the altar directly above the tomb; in addition to the period of contact, a Mass was said over the *palliola*.

Pilgrims seeking such relics had a ritualized process through which they would receive them. Gregory of Tours described that in the early sixth century (before the semi-annular crypt was built by Gregory the Great), the tomb of Peter was inaccessible to the public. Pilgrims who sought a Petrine relic would weigh a little piece of cloth on a pair of scales before lowering it into a small opening over the tomb. The pilgrim then kept a vigil and fasted; if his faith was strong enough, the cloth would be raised from the tomb "so soaked with divine power that it will weigh much more than it weighed previously; and the man who raised it then knows that by its good favor he has received what he requested."<sup>91</sup> An ivory and wood reliquary box, the Capsella Samagher (also called the Pola Casket), dated to around 440, demonstrates the veneration of relics in Rome in rear relief panel.<sup>92</sup>

This panel shows the reception process of contact relics in the sanctuary at St. Peter's (identifiable based on its distinctive twisted columns brought to Rome by Emperor Constantine). Made before Gregory the Great installed the semi-annular crypt to allow for more access to the tomb of Peter, the ivory relief shows the altar surrounded by men and women venerating relics. On the left side of the relief, representing the south side of the altar is a pair of male figures, wearing flowing *paenula*, or cloaks (the bottom half of the figures is missing). On the right side, representing the aisle north of the altar, which had been the *pars mulierum* in Old St. Peter's, is a pair of female figures wearing



Figure 3.3 Capsella Samagher (Pola Casket).

Source: Image courtesy of the Venice National Archaeological Museum and Alinari Fotographia, Italy.

veils and *pallae*, or short cloaks. All four figures are in the *orans* posture of those raising their hands in prayer. In the center under the colonnade are a smaller male and female pair, likely to represent that they stand at a greater distance away than those four figures leading the prayers at the heads of the aisles. These two in the center are approaching the shrine from either side, likely to obtain the *palliolum* or another contract relic that had been lowered into the tomb. The significant presence of women in the reliefs offers a tantalizing glimpse into the role of women visitors and residents of the holy city. Women were full participants in the relic veneration at St. Peter's, leading prayers in the basilica and raising the brandea relics from the tomb "soaked with divine power." Women and men's joint central place at the heart of the cult of relics in the fifth century changed over the course of the early Middle Ages, as did women's place in the liturgical functions of the western church as a whole. However, the relics of the saints continued to offer a sense of collective Christian identity to those who visited Rome or came in contact with relics which had come from the holy places of the martyrs.

Even more valuable than the *palliola* and other bits of cloth that made up the tertiary relics were the secondary relics from the martyrs, often give to elites with the pope's blessing. Bede describes King Oswiu of Northumbria as a collector of relics, inserting a letter to the king from Pope Vitalian from 667 into the *Ecclesiastical History* in which the pope describes the relics of Peter and Paul, as well as of Lawrence, John and Paul, and Gregory and Pancras

that were given to Oswiu's messengers as gifts for the king, as well as a gift of a reliquary of a cross with a golden key made from the holy chains of St. Peter, apparently meant to invoke the keys to the kingdom of heaven Jesus had bestowed upon Peter.<sup>93</sup> These key-shaped reliquaries were common; Gregory of Tours reported that "many people fashion gold keys for unlocking the railings of [St. Peter's] blessed tomb, after they present them for a blessing, the keys cure afflictions of ill people."<sup>94</sup> The distinctive shape of this reliquary, plus its relative commonness as a gift to papal petitioners, indicates that there was likely a metal workshop that produced these particular reliquaries that lasted a long time, as the popes were still giving them to their elite correspondents into the mid-eighth century.<sup>95</sup> Relics stood at the intersection of different medieval discourses of power and value, including material, spiritual, political, historical, and geographical but all these did not need to be active simultaneously.<sup>96</sup> Relics migrated physically, and with that came changes in their associations and context. A change in location attracted new venerated who brought their own sense of the objects' value, experiencing the miraculous and superimposing their own ideas about power and holiness onto a both priceless and valueless object. Like the sacred place, the relic was in motion, with its associations in flux. Unlike the sacred place, the relic itself was actually physically movable, and its portability made it even more important in helping provide access to the holy places of Rome, making them accessible to a broader range of people and creating a unified *romanitas* that had a spatial link to the holy and historical sites of Christian martyrdom.

In the eighth and ninth centuries, relics were increasingly being translated from the extramural catacombs into the intramural Roman churches, likely in response to rising demand and the theft of relics by northern Christians. For instance, a silver vessel initially made in the early Middle Ages (sixth through eighth centuries, dating uncertain) was refashioned as a reliquary for the head of St. Sebastian by Pope Gregory IV (827–44) and placed in oratory dedicated to Gregory the Great in St. Peter's.<sup>97</sup> The *Liber Pontificalis* attests to the creation of the new shrine in St. Peter's with silver furnishings that held the relics of Pope Gregory the Great and Saints Sebastian, Gorgonius, and Tiburtius.<sup>98</sup> The relocation of these saints' relics to St. Peter's in 828 or 829 related to northern Christians desire for their relics; Hilduin, abbot of St-Médard, obtained relics of Sebastian from Pope Eugenius II in 826 and Tiburtius' relics were part of Carolingian courtiers Hilduin and Einhard's attempted theft of Roman relics in 827.<sup>99</sup> The portability of relics was also vital to understanding how the trade and theft of relics was part of an early medieval economy of sacredness. While the theft of relics has been examined as a phenomenon of that saw its heyday in the central Middle Ages,<sup>100</sup> Charlemagne's courtier and biographer Einhard sponsored a Roman relic translation (and theft) in 827, producing a narrative in late 830 or early 831 that strove to demonstrate the holiness of the relics and their miraculous feats once they had been moved away from Rome and ensconced in Francia. Einhard made the villain of the piece, not Romans or foreigners, but a political



rival, Hilduin who had been part of the Spring 830 rebellion of Louis the Pious' sons against their father, the emperor.

The *translatio* functioned as a kind of "reverse pilgrimage" narrative in which the dangers of the journey were on the way home (as the party returns with the relics) rather than the traditional pilgrimage, in which the travails of travel occur on the way to the holy place. Ratleig, Einhard's notary, traveled to Rome accompanied by a Roman deacon, Deusdona, who had been visiting Charlemagne's court. Deusdona made promises to both Einhard and Hilduin that he could help them obtain relics of Roman martyrs for churches in Francia. Along with Ratleig and Deusdona went Hunus, a priest of Hilduin's monastery, and their assorted servants, including Ratleig's servant Reginbald, who contracted malaria in northern Italy and delayed them considerably, as the party was small and did not want to be separated from one another. Once in Rome, the Frankish visitors did not stay out at the Borgo, but rather near the church of San Pietro in Vinculi on the Forum Romanum at the residence of their Roman deacon companion. The Franks waited in Rome as Deusdona, "like those not able to carry out their promises, concealed his inability by procrastinating."<sup>101</sup> Ratleig and Hunus both soon turned towards more nefarious means to try to obtain relics, hiring a local Roman guide to take them out to the extramural cemeteries, focusing their attention on the catacombs of the *Via Labicana*, southeast of the city. At the Church of St. Tiburtius, the Franks tried to open the tomb underneath the marble altar to unearth Tiburtius's relics. Failing that, they descended to the crypt, stealing the relics first of Marcellinus, and later of Peter. While most Romans refused to help the Franks, Deusdona and his brother Luniso were involved, as was a Byzantine monk named Basil and his four students who lived on the Palatine Hill.

The plan for leaving the city with the stolen relics was as elaborate as getting them had been. Hunus and Luniso transported the bodies (sealed and hidden in chests) to Pavia, while Ratleig and Deusdona waited in Rome for a week, listening to determine whether the removal of their relics had been noticed by any Romans. When it had not, they too headed to Pavia. With papal representatives coming to town, Hunus and Deusdona crossed the Alps before they arrived (without the relics) and headed for Hilduin's abbey near Soissons. Ratleig laid low in Pavia, and when the coast was clear, sent a messenger to Einhard advising him of the theft and making a new plan to take the relics to Francia via the eastern route that included the Rhine River instead of the western route towards Aachen or Soissons. Ratleig did this ostensibly because he distrusted Hunus, Hilduin's priest, "who had a full and complete knowledge of everything they had done and decided, and who seemed so cunning and slimy, had probably plotted to place some obstacle for him along the route by which he had chosen to travel."<sup>102</sup> Crossing the Alps and reaching St-Maurice d'Agaune in six days (a distance of approximately 150 miles), Ratleig paused to construct a bier for the sacred bodies, and then proceeded north with the relics, the *translatio* no longer secret, but proudly on

display. The charisma of distant places and the pull of Rome sent Einhard and his intermediaries on a sketchy journey south, seeking the relics of Roman martyrs even as those in charge of those tombs would have arrested them or worse for the thefts. Dealing with political rivals and cunning antiquities dealers eager to deceive them, the power and holiness of the holy places and the holy bodies (which were imbued with the power of the ancient Roman sacred space made portable) kept Ratleig safe and allowed him to persevere. The power and holiness of the relics was connected to their origin in the distant place of Rome, but even after being translated north, the holiness of the martyrs continued to link those who venerated them in their new Frankish shrines with the holy places of Rome, sites of their martyrdom, but no longer sites of their burial. *Romanitas* as an identity in the Carolingian world was part of this horizontal connection to a distant center as well as vertical connection to the communion of saints in heaven. The physical accessibility of holiness for northern pilgrims to the new burial sites of Marcellinus and Peter ironically forged an even stronger spiritual tie with Rome, because without the context of both the martyrs and their original burial place, the new site of their burial in the north would be irrelevant. Holiness was created both rhetorically and representationally using the theft and the travel of the relics of the martyrs.

During the early Middle Ages, a new sense of Roman identity developed for northern Christians that included a close association with the city of Rome itself with the power and holiness within in as *romanitas*. Connecting themselves both physically and imaginatively with Rome allowed pilgrims to create connections between themselves and the Christian past through the tombs of the martyrs as well as constructing cultural, religious, and political links between Francia and the Italian peninsula of their own day. This movement produced a global sense of both Christendom and Romanness for those who journeyed, as well as those who listened to the stories of travel or venerated holy objects from a distant place. The physical and geographical connections with the places of the martyrs was complemented by the imaginative connections that these travelers and the travel of relics engendered. Rome was a holy city, but one that was in motion, just as the people who visited it, gaining the charisma and power of religious travel and the diversity of new romanizing traditions.

## Notes

- 1 Celia Chazelle, "'Romanness' in Early Medieval Culture." In *Paradigms and Methods in Early Medieval Studies*, ed. Celia Chazelle and Felice Lifshitz (New York: Palgrave, 2007), 83; Guy Halsall, "Transformations of Romanness: The Northern Gallic Case." In *Transformations of Romanness: Early Medieval Regions and Identities*, ed. Walter Pohl, et al. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2018), 46.
- 2 Lawrence Nees, *Early Medieval Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 15.
- 3 Mayke de Jong, "Religion." In *The Early Middle Ages: Europe 400–1000*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 138.

- 4 Walter Pohl, "Romanness: A Multiple Identity and Its Changes." *Early Medieval Europe* 22, no. 4 (2014): 414.
- 5 Patrick McGurk, David Dumville, and Malcolm Godden, eds., *An eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon illustrated miscellany: British Library Cotton Tiberius B.V. part I: together with leaves from British Library Cotton Nero D. II* (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1983), 74–75; Veronica Ortenberg, "Archbishop Sigeric's Journey to Rome in 990." *Anglo-Saxon England* 19 (1990): 197–246; Cristina Corsi and Elisabetta De Minicis, *In viaggio verso Sud: la via Francigena da Acquapendente a Roma*, Daidalos 14 (Viterbo: Università degli studi della Tuscia, 2012).
- 6 Einhard, "Translatio et Miracula Sanctorum Marcelini et Petri." Ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS 15.1 (Hanover, 1888), § 2, 240. "Tunc manu comprehensum, ut sibi videbatur, montis praecelsi cacumen secum conscendere fecit. In quo cum simul positi consisterent: 'Convertere,' inquit, 'ad orientum et subiectos oculis tuis campos intueri!' Quod cum fecisset et campos de quibus sibi dixerat fuisset intuitus, videt in eis molis immensae fabricas in modum magnae cuiusdam civitatis extructas; et interrogatus ab eo, si sciret, quid hoc esset, se nescire, respondit. Tum ille, 'Roma est,' inquit, 'quam vides.'" Trans. Paul Edward Dutton, ed., *Charlemagne's Courtier: The Complete Einhard* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 71.
- 7 Huneberc, "Vita Willibaldi Episcopi Eischstetensis et Vita Wynnebali Abbatis Heidenheimensis Auctore Sanctimoniale Heidenheimensis." Ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SS 15.1 (Hanover, 1887), § 3, 91–92. "Confestimque illi pergentes usque dum per vastam Italie telluram perneciter, per concava vallium, per abrupta montium, per plana campestrium ad ardua Alpium arces pedestrim scandendo gressum dirigebant in altum. Cumque, lustratis Alpium cacuminis glacialique nivium nebulosa turbidine, almi Dei adminiculo sanctorumque sustentaculo cum cunctis contribulum clientello omnique collegum cetu tuti toti tumida militum evaserunt versutias, inlustraque extemplo adierunt limina egregiasque Petri apostolorum principis petiverunt presidia, immensasque ibidem omnipotenti Deo ac gratas referebant gratias, quod magnis transmeatis mari discriminis variisque peregrinationis externarum ignominis, per omnia prosperi, scolasticam scandere meruerunt scalam et preclaram petivere sancti Petri basilicam." Trans. Noble, Thomas F.X., and Thomas Head, eds. "Life of Willibrord." In *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, 189–211*. (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1995), 149.
- 8 Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). For the *adventus* of relics, see Gillian Clark, "Translating Relics: Victricius of Rouen and Fourth-Century Debate." *Early Medieval Europe* 10, no. 2 (2001): 161–76; Kate Craig, "The Saint at the Gate: Giving Relics a 'Royal Entry' in Eleventh- to Twelfth-Century France." In *Authority and Spectacle in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honor of Teofilo F. Ruiz*, ed. Yuen-Gen Liang and Jarbel Rodriguez (London: Routledge, 2017), 121–33.
- 9 Theodore Mommsen, ed., "Anonymus Valesianus Pars Posterior," MGH AA 9 (Berlin, 1892), § 65–66, 324. "Cui papa Symmachus et cunctus senatus vel populus Romanus cum omni gaudio extra urbem occurrentes. Deinde veniens ingressus urbem venit ad senatum et ad Palmam populo adlocutus se omnia deo iuvante, quod retro principes Romani ordinaverunt, inviolabiliter servaturum promittit."
- 10 Louis Duchesne, ed., *Liber Pontificalis*, v. 1 (Paris: Ernst Thorin, 1886), 496–97. "Cuius adventum audiens antedictus beatissimus Adrianus papa quod sic repente ipse Francorum advenisset rex, in magno stupore et extasi deductus, direxit in

eius occursum universos iudices ad fere XXX milia ab hac Romana urbe, in loco qui vocatur Nobas: ibi eum cum bandora susceperunt. Et dum adpropinquasset fere unius miliario a Romana urbe, direxit universas scholas militiae una cum patronis simulque et pueris qui didicendas litteras pergebant, deportantes omnes ramos palmarum adque olivarum, laudesque illi omnes canentes, cum adclamationum earundem laudium vocibus ipsum Francorum susceperunt regem; obviam illi eius sanctitas dirigens venerandas cruces, id est signa, sicut mos est exarchum aut patricium suscipiendum, eum cum ingenti honore suscipi fecit. Ipse vero a Deo institutus benignissimus Carolus magnus Francorum rex et patricius Romanorum, qua hora easdem sacratissimas cruces ac signa sibi obviam advenisse conspexit, descendens de eo quo sedebat equo, ita cum suis iudicibus ad beatum Petrum pedestris properare studuit. Quod quidem antedictus almificus pontifex diluculo surgens in eodem sabbato sancto cum universo clero et populo Romano ad beatum Petrum properavit ad suscipiendum eundem Francorum regem, et in gradibus ipsius apostolicae aulae eum cum suo clero prestolavit." Trans. Raymond Davis, *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis): The Ancient Biographies of Nine Popes from AD 715 to AD 817* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992), 135–36.

- 11 Thomas F.X. Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter: The Birth of the Papal State, 680–825* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), 287–88.
- 12 Noble, 139.
- 13 Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, v. 1, 497. "Coniungente vero eodem excellentissimo ac benignissimo Carulo rege, omnes grados singillatim eiusdem sacratissimae beati Petri aecclisiae deosculatos est et ita usque ad praenominatum pervenit pontificem, ubi in atrio super grados, iuxta fores ecclesiae adstibat. Eoque suscepto, mutuo se amplectentes, tenuit isdem christianissimus Carulus rex dexteram manum antedicti pontificis et ita in eandem venerandam aulam beati Petri principis apostolorum ingressi sunt, laudem Deo et eius excellentiae decantantes universus clerus et cuncti religiosi Dei famuli, extensa voce adclamantes: 'Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini,' et cetera. Sicque cum eodem pontifice ipse Francorum rex simulque et omnes episcopi, abbates et iudices et universi Franci qui cum eo advenerant, ad confessionem beati Petri adpropinquantes seseque proni ibidem prosternentes, Deo nostro omnipotenti et eidem apostolorum principi propria reddiderunt vota, glorificantes divinam potentiam in eo quod talem eis per interventionem suffragia eiusdem principis apostolorum concedere iussit victoriam. Expleta vero eadem oratione, obnixie deprecates est isdem Francorum rex antedictum almificum pontificem illi licentiam tribui Romam ingrediendi sua orationum vota per diversas Dei ecclesias persolvenda. Et descendentes partier ad corpus beati Petri tam ipse sanctissimus papa quamque antefatus excellentissimus Francorum rex cum iudicibus Romanorum et Francorum, seseque muto per sacramentum munientes, ingressus est continuo Romam cum eodem pontifice ipse Francorum rex cum suis iudicibus et populo." Trans. Davis, *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, 135–36.
- 14 Paolo Liverani, "Victors and Pilgrims in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages." *Fragmenta* 1 (2007): 84.
- 15 John Chrysostom, "Homily 26." In PG 61, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris: Imprimerie catholique, 1862), col. 582; Philip Schaff, ed., "Homily 26 on Second Corinthians." In *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers 12*, trans. Talbot W. Chambers (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1889), 148–57, <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/220226.htm>. See also, Liverani, "Victors and Pilgrims in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages," 91.
- 16 Despite the *Liber Pontificalis'* distinct focus on the papacy and its importance in the city of Rome and to those outside of it as a political symbol, it is far from clear from other sources that the popes held a particularly outsize role in why

- Rome was necessary as a destination for religious travelers. Under the Merovingian Franks, Rome was not seen as identical to the papacy as an institution; see Clemens Gantner, "Romana Urbs: Levels of Roman and Imperial Identity in the City of Rome." *Early Medieval Europe* 22, no. 4 (2014): 469. Carolingian ideas about Rome as a sacred place focused on the political and geographical unity of the city and the papacy as the seat of western Christian power and authority; see Samuel Collins, *The Carolingian Debate over Sacred Space* (New York: Palgrave, 2012).
- 17 Caroline Goodson, "Roman Archaeology in Medieval Rome." In *Rome: Continuing Encounters Between Past and Present*, ed. Dorigen Sophie Caldwell and Lesley Caldwell (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2011), 30.
  - 18 John Osborne, "Plus Caesare Petrus: The Vatican Obelisk and the Approach to St. Peter's." In *Old Saint Peter's, Rome*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 274–86.
  - 19 Excellent descriptions of the area in Chris Wickham, *Medieval Rome: stability and crisis of a city, 900–1150* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 134–42; Richard Krautheimer, *Rome, Profile of a City, 312–1308* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980), 258–69.
  - 20 Louis Duchesne, ed., *Liber Pontificalis*, vol. 2 (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1892), 53 "… per quorundam gentis Anglorum desidiā ita est omnis illorum habitatio, quae in eorum lingua burgus dicitur, flamma ignis exundante conbusta." Trans. Raymond Davis, trans., *The Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis): The Ancient Biographies of Ten Popes from A.D. 817–891* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1995), 8–9.
  - 21 Sheila Gibson and Bryan Ward-Perkins, "The Surviving Remains of the Leonine Wall." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 47 (1979): 30–57; Sheila Gibson and Bryan Ward-Perkins, "The Surviving Remains of the Leonine Wall. Part II: The Passetto." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 51 (1983): 222–39.
  - 22 Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, v. 1, 262; Rosamond McKitterick et al., "Introduction." In *Old Saint Peter's, Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 3.
  - 23 Thomas F.X. Noble, "Virtual Material." Keynote address at The Material World of the Early Middle Ages Conference. Forest Grove, OR: Pacific University, 2016.
  - 24 Hendrik W. Dey, "Diaconiae, Xenodochia, Hospitalia and Monasteries: 'Social Security' and the Meaning of Monasticism in Early Medieval Rome." *Early Medieval Europe* 16, no. 4 (2008): 398–422; Thomas Szabó, "Xenodochia, Hospitälern Und Herbergen – Kirchliche und Kommerzielle Gastung im Mittelalterlichen Italien (7. Bis 14. Jahrhundert)." In *Gastfreundschaft, Taverne und Gasthaus im Mittelalter*, ed. Hans Conrad Peyer (Munich: OldenbourgVerlag, 1983), 61–92.
  - 25 Jerome, "Ad Pachamiam, Epistola 66." Ed. J.-P. Migne, PL 22 (Paris: Imprimerie catholique, 1845), 66.11, cols. 645–46. Major excavations at Portus in the last two decades have shed light on the late antique history of the city, including the Christian basilica surrounded by housing; see S.J. Keay et al., *Portus: An Archaeological Survey of the Port of Imperial Rome* (Rome: British School at Rome, 2005), 248–58. For the imperial palace, see Simon Keay and Lidia Paroli, *Portus and Its Hinterland: Recent Archaeological Research* (Rome: British School at Rome, 2011), 67–92.
  - 26 Paolo Liverani, "St. Peter's and the City of Rome." In *Old Saint Peter's, Rome*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 26–27; Girolamo Arnaldi, "L'approvvigionamento Di Roma e l'amministrazione Del 'Patrimonio Di S. Pietro' Al Tempo Di Gregorio Magno." *Studi Romani* 34 (1986): 27.

- 27 Willibald, "Vita Bonifatii." Ed. Wilhelm Levison. MGH SRG 57. (Hanover, 1905), § 6, 28. "Qui etiam bene susceptus cenodochiam adductus est."
- 28 Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Rewriting Saints and Ancestors: Memory and Forgetting in France, 500–1200* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), Appendix II, note 3, 324.
- 29 Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, v. 2, 28; Davis, *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, 218–19.
- 30 Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, v. 2, 57; Davis, *The Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes*, 18.
- 31 Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, v. 1, 262. "Habitacula pauperibus."
- 32 Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, v. 1, 440–41; Davis, *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, 52–53.
- 33 Eric Shuler, "Almsgiving and the Formation of Early Medieval Societies, A.D. 700–1025." (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 2010), 208–09.
- 34 Bruno Krusch, ed., "Vita Amandi," MGH SRM 5. (Hanover, 1910), § 6, 434. "... squalida atque devia lustrans loca..."
- 35 Krusch, § 7, 434. "Quadam namque die, iam adpropinquante vespera cum custodes iuxta morem in ecclesiam fecissent diligentiam, sanctus vir domimi Amandus, egredientibus cunctis, in ecclesia paululum substitit, ibique ex devotione tota nocte vigilare cupiens: tum vero unus e custodibus eum inventum, contemptibiliter affectum iniuriis eiecit extra ecclesiam. Sedente autem eo in extasi mentis in gradibus ante fores ecclesiae, subito ei sanctus apparuit Petrus, blande leniterque eum adloquitur et, ut in Galliis ad praedicationem exercendam reverti deberet, admonuit."
- 36 Gregory of Tours, "Decem Libri Historiarum." Ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison. MGH SRM 1, Part 1. (Hanover, 1884), 2.7, 49.
- 37 The palace was traditionally thought to have been built by Charlemagne and was called the *palatium Karoli* by 1017, but the earliest mention of the palace was in a diploma of 872 from Louis the Younger, Ludovici II. K. Wanner, ed., "Diplomata, 57." MGH Diplomata Karolinorum IV (Munich, 1994), 179–80. See, Carlrichard Brühl, "Die Kaiserpfalz bei St Peter und die Pfalz Ottos III. Auf dem Palatin." In *Aus Mittelalter und Diplomatie: Gesammelte Aufsätze, I* (Hildesheim: Weidmann, 1989), 3–31; Wickham, *Medieval Rome*, 135 n. 78.
- 38 Krautheimer, *Rome, Profile of a City*, 261.
- 39 Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani, "Hosting Foreigners in Early Medieval Rome: From Xenodochia to Scholae Peregrinorum." In *England and Rome in the Early Middle Ages. Pilgrimage, Art, and Politics*, ed. Francesca Tinti (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 69–88; Paolo Delogu, "The Post-Imperial Romanness of the Romans." In *Transformations of Romanness: Early Medieval Regions and Identities*, ed. Walter Pohl et al. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2018), 163.
- 40 Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, v. 2, 6. "... cuncte scole peregrinorum, videlicet Francorum, Frisonorum, Saxonorum atque Langobardorum..." Davis, *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, 185.
- 41 Judson Emerick, "Building More Romano in Francia during the Third Quarter of the Eighth Century: The Abbey Church of Saint-Denis and Its Model." In *Rome Across Time and Space: Cultural Transmission and the Exchange of Ideas, C.500–1400*, ed. Claudia Bolgia, Rosamond McKitterick, and John Osborne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 143.
- 42 Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, v. 2, 53–54. "... per quorundam gentis Anglorum desidiam ita est omnis illorum habitatio, quae in eorum lingua burgus dicitur, flamma ignis exundante combusta, ut etiam nec vestigia pristinae habitationis in eodem loco invenire potuisset... Unde postmodum ter beatissimus pastor, considerans illorum peregrinorum inopiam, quam ob insidiam diabolice fraudis inrepta est, tanta dona tantaque beneficia, sicut semper solitus erat, in eorum

necessitatibus inpertivit, tam in auro seu argento vel corporum indumenta, quam reliqua necessaria alimenta, omnia uberius subministrabat. Sed et silvarum copia pro lignorum utilitate, quatenus domicilia sicut ante in eodem loco fuerant, utiliter restaurarent.” Trans. Davis, *The Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes*, 8–9.

- 43 Wickham, *Medieval Rome*, 137.
- 44 Willibald, “Vita Bonifatii,” § 5, 21. “... abolitionem peccaminum postulantes, diversa quidem munera eorum quam plurimi detulerint.”
- 45 Rory Naismith, “Peter’s Pence and Before: Numismatic Links between Anglo-Saxon England and Rome.” In *England and Rome in the Early Middle Ages. Pilgrimage, Art, and Politics*, ed. Francesca Tinti (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 217–54. The number of coins found is significant especially since metal-detecting is forbidden in Italy for the most part. Many more coins have been found in England and northern Europe overall since the Portable Antiquities Act of 1997.
- 46 Foreigners in Rome were warned that only local money was taken by Lupus of Ferrières in a letter written ca. 847–53. Lupus of Ferrières, “Epistolae,” Ed. Ernst Dümmler. MGH Epistolae 6. (Berlin, 1885), Ep. 66, 65.
- 47 Naismith, “Peter’s Pence and Before,” 226 and 231.
- 48 Wilhelm Levison, ed., “Vita Audoini Episcopi Rotomagensis.” MGH SRM 5 (Hanover, 1910), § 10, 560. “... monumenta sanctorum visitans et eorum pavimenta corpore prostratus oscula figens, quod iam dudum optaverat, devotus implevit. Sique vir Dei sanctorum suffragiis suffultus, sanctorum loca perlustrans, orationum emolumenti acquirens, reliquias sanctorum multorum secum deferens atque, angelum domini comitante, Gallearum partibus remeans, orationis eius obtentu salute animarum et corporum ministravit.” Trans. Paul Fouracre and Richard A. Gerberding, eds. *Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography, 640–720*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 160.
- 49 An edition of all four texts exists in P. Geyer et al., eds., *Itineraria et Alia Geographica. Itineraria Hierosolymitana. Itineraria Romana. Geographica.*, CCSL 175 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1965). “Notitia Ecclesiarum Urbis Romae et Descriptio Basilicae b. Petri,” 298–301; “De locis sanctis martyrum quae sunt foris civitatis romae et ecclesiae quae intus romae habentur,” 314–22; “Itinerarium Malmesburiense,” 324–28; “Itinerarium einsidlense et descriptio murorum et munitionum urbis romae,” 330–43.
- 50 Manuscript: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex Vindobonensis 795. Facsimile: Franz Unterkircher, ed., *Alkuin-Briefe und andere Traktate: Im Auftrage des Salzburger Erzbischofs Arn um 799 zu einem Sammelband vereinigt. Codex Vindobonensis 795 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1969). Both *Notitia ecclesiarum* and *Ecclesiae intus Romae* survive in this manuscript (ca. 798) from the circle of Archbishop Arno of Salzburg (784–821), along with letters of Alcuin; the *Notitia ecclesiarum* was expanded in the late eighth century with a list of holy places in Milan along with a description Gregory the Great’s tomb and St. Peter’s.
- 51 Caroline Goodson, *The Rome of Pope Paschal I: Papal Power, Urban Renovation, Church Rebuilding and Relic Translation, 817–824* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- 52 Geyer et al., “Notitia Ecclesiarum Urbis Romae,” 305; Geyer et al., “De Locis Sanctis Martyrum,” 322; Geyer et al., “Itinerarium Malmesburiense,” CCSL 328. “Primum in urbe Roma beatorum martium corpora Iohannis et Pauli tamen quiescent in basilica magna et valde formosa.”
- 53 Damasus, “Epigrammata,” in *Epigrammata Damasiana*, ed. Antonius Ferrua (Vatican City: Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1942), Epigram 61, 229–30. See also A. Munk, “Domestic Piety in Fourth Century Rome: A Relic Shrine beneath the Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.” *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 15, no. 1 (2009): 7–19; Nees, *Early Medieval Art*, 120.

- 54 Goodson, "Roman Archaeology in Medieval Rome," 27–29.
- 55 Dennis E. Trout, ed., *Damasus of Rome: the epigraphic poetry: introduction, texts, translations, and commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 63.
- 56 Goodson, "Roman Archaeology in Medieval Rome," 30.
- 57 Geyer et al., "Ecclesiae Intus Romae," 322. "Basilica quae appellatur Cosmae et Damiani."
- 58 Gregor A. Kalas, "Conservation, Erasure, and Intervention: Rome's Ancient Heritage and the History of SS. Cosma e Damiano." *Arria* 16 (2005): 1–11. See also the online visualization by Gregor A. Kalas and Lu Liu, "Digital Reconstruction of SS. Cosma e Damiano in the Sixth-Century." 2011, [https://works.bepress.com/gregor\\_kalas/4](https://works.bepress.com/gregor_kalas/4).
- 59 Goodson, *The Rome of Pope Paschal I*, 52–53; Erik Thunø, *Image and Relic: Mediating the Sacred in Early Medieval Rome*. (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2002); Neil Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne: An Archaeology of Italy, AD 300–800* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2006), 156–64.
- 60 Erik Thunø, *The Apse Mosaic in Early Medieval Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 65.
- 61 Thunø, Appendix, 209. AVLA D[E]I CLARIS RADIAT SPECIOSA METALLIS IN QUA PLVS FIDEI LVX PRETIOSA MICAT. MARTYRIBUS MEDICIS POPVLO SPES CERTA SALVTIS VENIT ET EX SACRO CREVIT HONORE LOCUS. OPTVLIT HOC D[OMI]NO FELIX ANTISTITE DIGNUM MVNVS VT AETHERIA VIVAT IN ARCE POLI.
- 62 Willibald, "Vita Bonifatii," § 7, 37. "Cumque non minimum anni spatium in his morabatur regionibus et sanctorum peragrande atque orando circuisset reliquias, tunc quippe, resalutato venerando viro ac sedis apostolicae pontifici, cum muneribus et reliquiis sanctorum honorifice ditatus remeavit." Trans. Thomas F. X. Noble and Thomas Head, eds. *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1995), 130.
- 63 Gregory of Tours viewed the church through a "vertical framework of historical continuities" as opposed to its "horizontal framework of the communion of saints," in Noble, "Gregory of Tours and the Roman Church," 60.
- 64 James T. Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish World*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 222. Queen Balthild sent gifts to churches in Rome only in the post-Bonifatian ninth-century "B" version of the text.
- 65 Boniface, *S. Bonifatii et Lulli Epistolae*, ed. M. Tangl, MGH Epp. Sel. I (Berlin, 1916), Ep. 35, 60. "Sic et adhuc deprecor, ut augeas quod coepisti, id est, ut mihi cum auro conscribas epistolas domini mei sancti Petri apostoli ad honorem et reverentiam sanctorum scripturarum ante oculos carnalium in predicando et quia dicta eius, qui me in hoc iter direxit, maxime semper in presentia cupiam habere." Ephraim Emerton, trans., *The Letters of Saint Boniface*, reprint (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940, 2000), 43. Boniface. "A Letter from Boniface to Eadburga," *Epistolae: Medieval Women's Latin Letters*, accessed January 4, 2019, <https://epistolae.ctl.columbia.edu/letter/355.html>.
- 66 Geyer et al., "Notitia Ecclesiarum," § 12, 306. "Deinde via Numentana ad ecclesiam sanctae Agnae, quae formosa est, in qua sola pausat – et ipsam episcopus Honorius miro opera reparavit." Geyer et al., "Ecclesiae Intus Romae," § 21, 319. "Et iuxta eandem viam [Numentanam] basilica sanctae Agnes mirae pulchritudinis, ubi ipsa corpore iacet. Propeque ibi soror ius Emerentiana, in alia tamen basilica, dormit." Geyer et al., "Itinerarium Malmesburiense," § 6, 326. "Iuxta viam ecclesiae sanctae Agnetis et corpus; in altera sancta Emerentiana, et martyres Alexander, Felix, Papias."



- 67 Thunø, *The Apse Mosaic in Early Medieval Rome*, 210. AVREA CONCISIS SURGIT PICTVRA METALLIS ET COMPLEXA SIMVL CLAVDITUR IPSA DIES.
- 68 Elaine de Benedictis, "The Senatorium and Matroneum in the Roman Church." *Rivista Di Archeologia Cristiana* 57 (1981): 69–85.
- 69 Felice Lifshitz, *Religious Women in Early Carolingian Francia: A Study of Manuscript Transmission and Monastic Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 113–14.
- 70 Boniface, *S. Bonifatii et Lulli Epistolae*, Ep. 15, 27. "Simulque sciat caritas tua, quod passiones martyrum, quas petisti tibi transmitti, adhuc minime potui impetrare. Sed, dum valeam, faciam. Et tu, mi carissimus, dirige meae parvitati ad consolationem, quod per dulcissimas tuas litteras promisisti, id est congregationes aliquas sanctarum scripturarum." Trans. Emerton, *The Letters of Saint Boniface*, 18.
- 71 Lifshitz, *Religious Women in Early Carolingian Francia*, 142.
- 72 Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek M.p.th.q 28b Codex 1, ff. 12r–14r; discussion of the vigil at Agnes' tomb on the *Via Nomentana*, f. 14r, lines 10–11. <http://vb.uni-wuerzburg.de/ub/mpthq28b/pages/mpthq28b/27.html>.
- 73 Boniface, *S. Bonifatii et Lulli Epistolae*, Ep. 14, 25. "Quia multum temporis fluxit, ex quo desiderium habuimus, sicut plurimi ex necessariis nostris et cognatis sive alienis, dominam quondam orbis Romam peteremus." It is uncertain whether the sender, Eangyth and her daughter Heaburg (cognomen Bugga), is the same Bugga as in other Bonifatian correspondence or a different woman altogether. Emerton, *The Letters of Saint Boniface*, 18. Eangyth. "A Letter from Eangyth, Abbess (719–22)," *Epistolae: Medieval Women's Latin Letters*, accessed January 4, 2019, <https://epistolae.ctl.columbia.edu/letter/358.html>.
- 74 Boniface, *S. Bonifatii et Lulli Epistolae*, Ep. 27, 48. "... ut per peregrinationem libertatem contemplationis, si volueris et possis, adquires; quem ad modum soror nostra Wiethburga faciebat. Quae mihi per suas litteras intimavit, quod talem vitae quietem invenisset iuxta limina sancti Petri, qualem longum tempus desiderando quaesivit." Boniface. "A Letter from Boniface (before 738) to Bugga," *Epistolae: Medieval Women's Latin Letters*, accessed January 4, 2019, <https://epistolae.ctl.columbia.edu/letter/342.html>.
- 75 Boniface, *S. Bonifatii et Lulli Epistolae*, Ep. 105, 229–30. King Ethelbert II to Boniface (748–754).
- 76 MS: Einsiedeln Stiftsbibliothek, codex 326, fols. 79v–85r, 77r–v. There is a new recent critical edition is by Stefano del Lungo, ed., *Roma in età carolingia e gli scritti dell'Anonimo augiense. Einsiedeln, Bibliotheca Monasterii ordinis sancti Benedicti, 326 [8 nr. 13], IV, ff. 67v–86r* (Rome: Presso la Società alla biblioteca Vallicelliana, 2004).
- 77 Rudolf of Fulda, "Vita Leobae." Ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS 15.1 (Hanover, 1887), § 23, 131.
- 78 Einhard. "Vita Karoli Magni." Ed. Oswald Holder-Egger. MGH SRG 25. (Hanover, 1911), § 33, 40. See also Emily Albu, *The Medieval Peutinger Map: Imperial Roman Revival in a German Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 44–45.
- 79 Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani, "L'itinerario Di Einsiedeln." In *Roma: Dall'antichità Al Medioevo*, ed. Maria Stella Arena (Milan: Electa, 2001), 157. "Uno strumento, estremamente formalizzato, per descrivere lo spazio urbano usando un codice esclusivamente verbale, elaborato da una società che aveva perso l'interesse per una raffigurazione grafica, non simbolica, della realtà."
- 80 Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 326, ff. 82v–83r. Digitized: <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/sbe/0326> and edition in del Lungo, *Roma in età carolingia*, 70–71.
- 81 Alan Thacker, "The origin and early development of Rome's intramural cults: a context for the cult of Sant'Agnes in Agone." *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome - Moyen Age*, no. 126–1 (2014).

- 82 Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 326, ff. 82v+83r. "Circus Flamineus ibi Scā Agnes / Scī Laurentii in Damaso". Digitized: <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/sbe/0326>. Del Lungo, *Roma in età carolingia*, 70–71.
- 83 Stephen Lucey, "Palimpsest reconsidered. Continuity and change in the decorative programs at Santa Maria Antiqua." In *Santa Maria Antiqua al Foro Romano cento anni dopo: atti del colloquio internazionale*, Roma, 5–6 maggio 2000, ed. John Osbourne (Rome: Campisano, 2004), 83–95; Thomas F.X. Noble, "Paradoxes and Possibilities in the Sources for Roman Society in the Early Middle Ages." In *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough*, ed. Julia M.H. Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 55–83.
- 84 Goodson, "Roman Archaeology in Medieval Rome," 26.
- 85 Annabel Jane Wharton, *Selling Jerusalem: Relics, Replicas, Theme Parks* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 9.
- 86 Willibald, "Vita Bonifatii," § 5, 22. "Collectea numerosa reliquarum multitudine." See also Alan Thacker, "In Search of Saints: The English Church and the Cult of Roman Apostles and Martyrs in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries." In *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough*, ed. Julia M.H. Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 259–63. An excellent recent case study of relic translations in Saxony in the eighth and ninth centuries is Hedwig Röckelein, *Reliquientranslationen nach Sachen im 9. Jahrhundert: Über Kommunikation, Mobilität und Öffentlichkeit im Frühmittelalter* (Stuttgart: J. Thorbecke, 2002).
- 87 Hendrik W. Dey, *The Aurelian Wall and the Refashioning of Imperial Rome, AD 271–855* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
- 88 Gregory the Great, *Registrum Epistularum*, ed. Dag Norberg, CCSL 140–140A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1982), IV.30, 248–50. See also: Alan Thacker, "Rome of the Martyrs: Saints, Cults and Relics, Fourth to Seventh Centuries." In *Roma Felix: Formation and Reflections of Medieval Rome*, ed. Éamonn Ó Carragáin and Carol L. Neuman de Vegvar (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2007), 47; Alan Thacker, "Martyr Cult Within the Walls: Saints and Relics in the Roman Tituli Churches of the Fourth to Seventh Centuries." In *Text, Image, Interpretation: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature and Its Insular Context in Honour of Éamonn Ó Carragáin*, ed. Alastair J. Minnis and Jane Annette Roberts (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 31–70; Julia M.H. Smith, "Care of Relics in Early Medieval Rome." In *Rome and Religion in the Medieval World: Studies in Honor of Thomas F.X. Noble*, ed. Valerie L. Garver and Owen M. Phelan (London: Routledge, 2016), 185–86.
- 89 Dennis Trout, "Theodelinda's Rome: 'Ampullae', 'Pittacia', and the Image of the City." *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 50 (2005): 131–50.
- 90 Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, 1886, 1:312; Conrad Leyser, "The Temptations of Cult: Roman Martyr Piety in the Age of Gregory the Great." *Early Medieval Europe* 9, no. 3(2000): 289–307.
- 91 Gregory of Tours, "Gloria Martyrum." Ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM 1, Part 2. (Hanover, 1885), § 27, 54. "Si fides hominis praevaluerit, a tumulo palliolum elevatum ita imbuitur divina virtute, ut multo amplius, quam prius pensaverat, ponderetur; et tunc scit qui levaverit, cum eius gratia sumpsisse quod petiit." Trans. Raymond van Dam, trans. *Gregory of Tours: Glory of the Martyrs*. (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1988), 46.
- 92 *Capsella Samagher [Pola Casket]*, mid-5th century, ivory and silver, H: 18.5 cm, L: 20.5 cm, W: 16 cm, mid-5th century, National Archaeology Museum, Venice, <http://vcg.isti.cnr.it/capsella>. A 3-D digitization project accompanied a 2013 exhibition of the Capsella Samagher reliquary at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Venice. The top panel shows Peter and Paul with an enthroned

- Christ; the front reveals the empty throne before the second coming, surrounded by six apostles. One of the side panels is too severely damaged to determine its spatial context but may represent a baptism scene. The other is entirely preserved and shows a mother giving a child-oblate to church to be educated. Scholars have speculated that these interior scenes are at the Lateran Baptistry and Palace, respectively, though there are no distinctive architectural features to confirm this. Mary M. Schaefer, *Women in Pastoral Office: The Story of Santa Prassede, Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 197–200.
- 93 Bede. *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), III.29, 320–21.
  - 94 Gregory of Tours, “Gloria Martyrum,” § 27, 54. “Multi enim et claves aureas ad reserandos cancellos beati sepulchri faciunt, cui ferentes pro benedictione priores, quibus infirmitates tribulantum medicantur.” van Dam, *Glory of the Martyrs*, 46.
  - 95 Pope Gregory III (731–41) sent a key-shaped reliquary to Charles Martel as well, see *Codex Carolinus*, ep. 2, MGH Ep. 3, 478–79. Smith, “Care of Relics in Early Medieval Rome,” 192. So far as I know, no key-shaped reliquaries have survived from the early Middle Ages.
  - 96 Julia M.H. Smith, “Rulers and Relics c.750 - c. 950: Treasure on Earth, Treasure in Heaven.” *Past & Present* 206, no. suppl\_5(2010): 76.
  - 97 Martina Bagnoli, ed. *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics and Devotion in Medieval Europe*. (London: British Museum Press, 2010), 42, Image 19. The reliquary is inscribed, “AD DECORE[M] CAPITIS BEATI SEBASTIANI GREG[ORII] IIII EPIS[OPUS] OPT[VLIT]”.
  - 98 Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, v. 2, 74; Davis, *The Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes*, 51–52.
  - 99 On Hilduin obtaining Sebastian’s relics, see Elizabeth A.R. Brown, “Gloriosae, Hilduin, and the Early Liturgical Celebration of St-Denis.” In *Medieval Paradigms: Essays in Honor of Jeremy DuQuesnay Adams*, ed. Stephanie A. Hayes-Healy (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 57 n. 106. See also Einhard, “Translatio et Miracula Sanctorum Marcelini et Petri.”
  - 100 Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, revised edition (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 40. See also Julia M.H. Smith, “‘Emending Evil Ways and Praising God’s Omnipotence’: Einhard and the Uses of Roman Martyrs.” In *Conversion in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Seeing and Believing*, ed. Kenneth Mills and Anthony Grafton (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2003), 193; Martin Heinzelmann, “Einhard’s Translatio Marcellini et Petri: Eine Hagiographische Reformschrift von 830.” In *Einhard: Studien Zu Leben Und Werk*, ed. Hermann Schefers (Darmstadt: Hessische Historische Kommission, 1997), 278.
  - 101 Einhard, “Translatio et Miracula Sanctorum Marcelini et Petri,” Book I, § 3, 241. “Sed ille, sicut qui suas pollicitationes perficere non valebat, ipsum quod non poterat quibusdam procrastinationibus palliabat.” Trans. Dutton, *Charlemagne’s Courtier*, 73.
  - 102 Einhard, “Translatio et Miracula Sanctorum Marcelini et Petri,” MGH SS 15.1, Book I, § 7, 242. “... quique omnium quae apud eos gesta vel tractate fuerant plenarium atque integram notitiam habebat, quia vafer ac lubricae fidei videbatur, aliquid impeditenti sibi in via qua ire dispositum habebat machinari debuisse, altera [die] sibi eundum iudicavit.” Trans. Dutton, *Charlemagne’s Courtier*, 77.

## 4 Monastic migration and social motion

Wandering monks, often called “gyrovagues” in early medieval monastic rules, were considered the worst kind of monk. According to the first chapter of the Benedictine Rule (ca. 520/530), they “spend their whole lives wandering from province to province, staying as guests in different monasteries for three or four days at a time. Always roving, never stable, they are slaves to their own wills and their appetites.”<sup>1</sup> For the privileged and settled, the religious traveler was not just a figure of power and holiness. The obverse of that power was the danger, poverty, and instability religious movement produced in those who moved, and those who encountered the unsteady lifestyle of those who tramped about from place to place. While the gyrovague was particularly disparaged in the early medieval monastic rules that sought to regulate the lives of religious professionals in Italy in the sixth century, their influence expanded out of the original Mediterranean context to Francia in the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries.<sup>2</sup> The gyrovague was a figure of political and religious movement. His travel was not entirely free of coercion, but neither was it entirely forced by social conditions. No hagiographers called their saintly subjects gyrovagues; monastic wandering was a concept with negative connotations since late antiquity.<sup>3</sup>

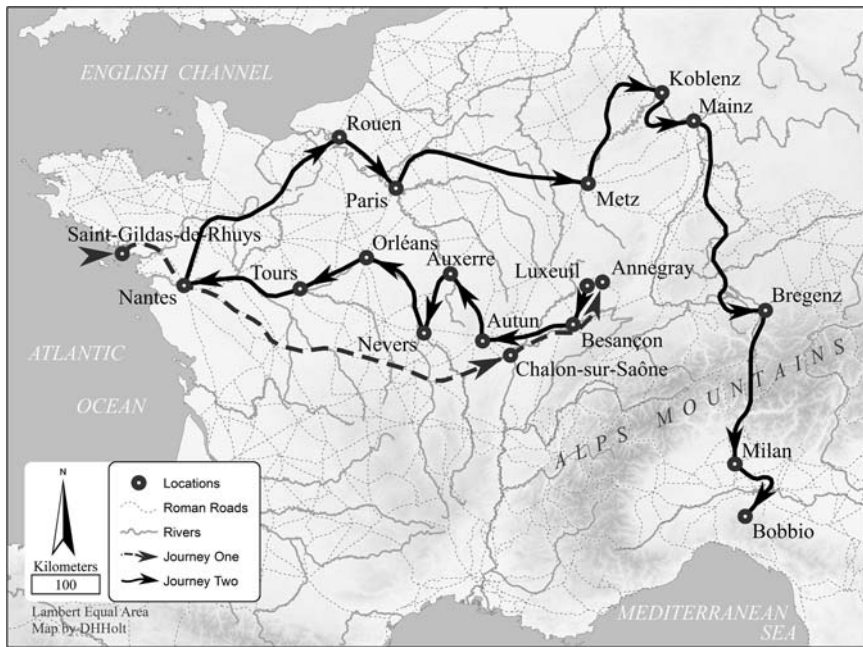
The wandering monk participated in vagabondage, in which his social motion expelled him from religious and social power structures in his place of origin and included him in new ones in his eventual destinations.<sup>4</sup> Medieval travelers did not have an unchanging essence. This dynamic force for both individual and group movement transforms the view of medieval society as a static spatial environment. Social kinetics can help us understand medieval societies as regimes of motion, directing people and objects to expand their power through diverse forms of political, religious, and cultural movement.<sup>5</sup> Examining itinerant monks, monastic missionaries, and visitors to monasteries demonstrates the way that religious travelers were also migrants in early medieval Europe, connected to the changes in religious ideas and practices, as well as political and social transformations. Proceeding from migrating monks, to their new monastic settlements, to contestations of monastic movement, the liminality of the migrant and the border involves space, but need not be reduced to space. The motion and circulation of religious

migrants was geographical, as well as social and economic. Both geography and the social motion of religious travelers demonstrates that the early medieval world was a dynamic place.

### Monks beyond the monastery

The wandering monk as a migrant had itineracy as his social vector, in which physical movement determined and changed his social status and social ties. Individuals could leave that vector, taking up different social positions, oscillating between settlement and itineracy. Many of these religious migrants settled in locations distant from their homelands to found monastic institutions, in concert with local elites and magnates. In western Europe, monasteries proliferated from the sixth century onwards. At the end of the sixth century, Gaul had approximately 220 monastic institutions; by the middle of the eighth century, there were around 550.<sup>6</sup> Some of the most important institutions in the region and their daughter houses were founded by itinerant religious monks. The most famous of these migrants are the *peregrini*, religious travelers from the British Isles, who have long been analyzed through a lens of their "Irishness."<sup>7</sup> Rather than problematizing their ethnic identity, recent work has examined these migrants as part of larger social and political relationships on the Continent.<sup>8</sup> Francia was unquestionably the center of western monasticism; even in the sixth century before movement of the *peregrini*, it had more than twice the number of monasteries than either the Italian or Iberian peninsulas.<sup>9</sup> For the Franks, Ireland was a source of ascetic holy men who came from afar with power and holiness, but also danger and instability, to transform Frankish religious culture. The sources about such figures were written by their Frankish followers and often showed little interest in Ireland as a real place. Instead, it was a source of charismatic holy men who demonstrated their sanctity through their rejection of local kinship networks and their association with far-off places. These migrants were not described as *gyrovagues* by those who venerated them, but one such holy man, Columbanus, nevertheless exhibited an itineracy that demonstrated his unstable social status as he moved both voluntarily and involuntarily across the Frankish world.

Columbanus arrived on the Continent around 592, founding several monasteries during his nearly twenty-five-year career there, including what would become "powerhouses of prayer" on the Continent, Luxeuil (modern-day Switzerland) and Bobbio (northern Italy).<sup>10</sup> In his own letters, Columbanus emphasized the sheer geographical distance between Ireland and Continental Europe, with the Irish living at the edge of the world.<sup>11</sup> He often described himself as a *peregrinus* or *alienus*, that is, wanderer or foreigner, and referred to his monastic brethren as *comperegrini*, fellow travelers. The incorporation of an Irish holy man like Columbanus into the Frankish political milieu represented a physical and spiritual oscillation that had both power and danger. His wandering movement was without true origin, as Ireland was



Map 4.1 Journeys of Columbanus in Continental Europe.

Source: David H. Holt.

not a “real” place for the Frankish hagiographical audience, merely a metonymic for “far, far away”. He was also without a single destination, as his monastic foundations and daughter houses all participated in the Columbanian monastic *familia*. His movement was not towards a geopolitical center, nor towards a periphery, but instead disjoined from the land and from kinship ties that connected early medieval people to particular places.<sup>12</sup>

Columbanus’ letters give one point of view on his religious travels, while another narrative comes from his hagiographer, Jonas of Bobbio (600–59). His life of the saint was constructed in two parts, with the first part being the *itinerarium* of the saint and his relationships with the peoples he encountered and the second part charting the expansion and conflicts between and within Columbanian communities in the first half of the seventh century.<sup>13</sup> In the last thirty years, scholarship on the *Life of Columbanus* has demonstrated that, despite being only one generation removed from the death of the saint, Jonas of Bobbio changed and manipulated the chronology and names of key players to suit the particular narrative he was constructing.<sup>14</sup> Jonas was writing not to tell the “true” story of Columbanus, but to create a memory of that founder that

was holy and ascetic, filled with the charisma of his distant homeland, and in some sense imagined. This was especially true when Jonas' narrative had Columbanus using his power to create new political alliances on the Continent. These political ties gave him power, but also made him vulnerable in a land where he had neither biological kin ties nor fictive kin ties to the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

Columbanus connected to local ecclesiastical and secular elites in Francia, with real and important exchanges that he and his brethren (who were not all Irish) made within local communities and families that the saint encountered on the Continent. Columbanus' movement from Ireland to the Continent has been described as *potior peregrinatio*, in which a holy man left his homeland to travel as part of a permanent program of wandering or penitential exile.<sup>15</sup> However, nowhere in the saint's life did his hagiographer Jonas elaborate on a penitential explanation for the saint's travels nor express any disapproval of Columbanus' mission abroad. Jonas wrote the *Life of Columbanus* at his foundation of Bobbio in Italy ca. 639–42, a monastery that likely practiced a mixed Columbanian and Benedictine Rule, but the Benedictine disdain for the *peregrinus* or *gyrovagus* was not in evidence.<sup>16</sup> Jonas did not justify or explain away the wandering actions of Columbanus; on the contrary, it was a vital part of the saint's power to be a traveling founder.<sup>17</sup> He was a charismatic who challenged royal authority and ascetic soldier of God intent on escaping from the world even as he worked in it.

Uniting his religious travel and migration, Columbanus went abroad to separate himself from his kin and homeland. However, the saint forged new networks on the Continent. Jonas described this process of allying with Frankish elites through the saint's holiness, not his kin ties. Despite Columbanus' intention to leave the world for the sake of Christ, the saint never retreated from the world as a hermit, but left his homeland to travel around the Frankish world interacting with political and religious elites. In changing his geographical vector, he also transformed his social vector. The encounters between the saint and the kings, queens, and bishops of the Frankish world were part of Jonas' narrative that was constructed to legitimate and promote Columbanian monasticism to an elite audience.<sup>18</sup> He did this by showing the reader exactly how a ruler should or should not deal with a *vir Dei*, explaining the monastic point of view to the secular world.<sup>19</sup> Rulers and aristocrats could participate in the monastic ideal by supporting the monks financially and materially, and by obeying the moral standards set by the abbot and his brethren.

The geopolitical world of early medieval Francia was heterogeneous, with competing Merovingian dynasties and mayors of the palace in subkingdoms, from Neustria and Austrasia to Aquitaine and Burgundy. These places were linked internally and to one another through kinship and legal ties. When a holy man like Columbanus entered this geographical and political system without such relationships, he had an extra-legal and

extra-political power that came from his not being enmeshed in such local and worldly affairs, but his outsider political status also made him vulnerable. This power might be harnessed by elites seeking to make their own power plays; it also might be threatening to those same elites.

For Columbanus, it was not his status as a wanderer that caused a political problem that eventually led to his forced exile from Burgundy. Jonas' narrative described political problems that were of the saint's own making; Columbanus criticized King Theuderic II of Burgundy (r. 595–613) for sharing his bed with concubines rather than procreating with a lawful wife and refused to bless the king's illegitimate children.<sup>20</sup> When the saint threatened to excommunicate the king, Columbanus was expelled from Burgundy and forced to leave Theuderic's territory. Jonas' narrative painted the real villain as Theuderic's grandmother Brunhild, who actively campaigned against the saint because she feared the introduction of a wife at court would undermine her position of power. Jonas' rhetoric against the Burgundian elites reflected the social and political circumstances of the generation after Columbanus. Recent work has pushed back against the depiction of Brunhild as the wicked queen, demonstrating that she had a substantial role as the patron of monasteries; without the active sponsorship of Childebert II, and likely Brunhild herself, Columbanus would not have been able to found his institutions in the first place.<sup>21</sup>

Columbanus discussed his forced exile from Burgundy himself in a letter addressed to his monks and his abbatial successor at Luxeuil, Attala, saying:

Now as I write a messenger has reached me, saying that the ship is ready for me, in which I shall be borne unwilling to my country; but if I escape, there is no guard to prevent it; for they seem to desire this, that I should escape. If I am cast into the sea like Jonah, who himself is also called Columba in Hebrew, pray that someone may take the place of the whale to bring me back in safe concealment by a happy voyage, to restore your Jonah to the land he longs for.<sup>22</sup>

The metaphor of a future journey that might return Columbanus secretly to the Continent like Jonah in the belly of the whale was not about the difficulty of the journey, but the saint's concealment from the secular royal authorities. After the royal decree sending him back to Ireland, Columbanus sailed on the Loire River from Nevers to the port city of Nantes. In Nantes, Chlothar II, king of Neustria (r. 584–629), sponsored him as a power-play against Burgundy.<sup>23</sup> Columbanus criticized Chlothar's behavior as well. In contrast to his cousin Theuderic's response, Chlothar reformed his behavior and offered to let Columbanus stay within his realm, providing a precise mirror image of royal behavior between the "good" king Chlothar and the "bad" king Theuderic. Jonas said that Chlothar wanted Columbanus to pursue his monastic ambitions in Neustria, but that the



saint wished to continue his *peregrinatio*. Traveling east, this time to the Austrasian court of Theudebert II (r. 595–612), Theuderic II of Burgundy's brother with whom he was at war, Theudebert sent him to Bregenz on Lake Constance. While this narrative is from Jonas' account, even if the specifics have been manipulated, it is clear that Columbanus' wandering was not entirely free, as at times he was expelled from territories and political communities. However, neither was it entirely forced, as the saint rejected Chlothar's donation and Theudebert's desired Bregenz foundation failed because of local opposition by the Alamanni. Columbanus then left Merovingian Francia for Milan and the court of King Agilulf of Lombardy (r. 590–616). Columbanus was a religious traveler, but not one with any particular goal or pilgrimage destination. Instead, his journeys conflated religious travel and migration, founding monastic houses for settlement with his brethren, both foreign and local, but also continuing to move with a social and geographical vector that equated movement with power and holiness.

Another migrant and wanderer who became involved in Frankish politics was Amandus, bishop of Maastricht (584–675). Early in his career, the Aquitanian wandering missionary Amandus traveled to the tomb of Martin at Tours seeking guidance on how "he might never be permitted to return to his own land but might spend his whole life in exile [*peregrinatione*]." <sup>24</sup> Amandus traveled to Flanders (modern Belgium) to preach to pagans with the permission of the nearby bishop of Noyon and King Dagobert I (r. Austrasia 623–39; r. as king of all the Franks, 629–39). Amandus endured the verbal insults and physical assaults of the local people; he was thrown in the River Scheldt by "women and rustics" many times. His companions, unwilling to suffer these abuses, gradually returned to their own countries. <sup>25</sup> Amandus did not win any souls to Christianity until he set himself up as an ally of the native population by reviving a dead man who had been executed on the orders of a Neustrian count, Dotto. A Frankish eyewitness, a monk named Bonus, observed the trial of the local man, whom Amandus had spoken for during the inquest. After the man's execution, Amandus prayed over the body and revived him, "sending him back to his own house restored him safe and sound to his kindred." When miracle story was retold throughout the region, the local inhabitants rushed to Amandus and "humbly begged that he should make them Christians." <sup>26</sup> Amandus' mission to Flanders was reportedly only successful once he had allied himself politically with the local population. Amandus set himself up against Dotto and the aristocrats; in addition, he also refused to obey Dagobert's order to baptize his son because the saint had "reproved the king for his capital crimes" which no one else had dared to do. For this affront, Dagobert ordered that Amandus be expelled from Neustria. <sup>27</sup> Amandus was taken in by Pippin of Landen (580–640), Dagobert's former chief courtier and the mayor of the Palace of Austrasia, who had lost royal favor in 629. Pippin became Amandus' ally during the

remainder of Dagobert's reign when both Amandus and Pippin were on the outside of royal favor.<sup>28</sup> However, Dagobert died in 639 and Pippin of Landen died the following year in 640. After Pippin's death, his widow Itta and daughter Gertrude hosted Amandus, and he encouraged them to found Nivelles, which became a local center of power.

Monastic wanderers were defined by their physical motion into new territories, which mirrored their political and social motion into new networks of affiliation, as well as expulsion from those networks and places at times. Early medieval society was not a static spatial or social environment. These social kinetics show their societies as regimes of motion, as migrants expand their power through diverse forms of political, religious, and cultural movement.

### **Religious migrants and new monastic settlements**

An important characteristic of early medieval religious migrants was not just their wandering as physical and social motion, but also their settlement and foundation of new monasteries. These medieval travelers did not have an unchanging migratory essence, but changed their social vectors as they alternately moved and settled into new landscapes and communities. In each of the places that Columbanus settled, he became enmeshed in the local royal and ecclesiastical political culture, with his movement changing and shaping his geographical and social vectors. Secular patronage of monasteries and integration within the same long-distance exchange networks is abundantly reflected both textually and archaeologically during the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries.<sup>29</sup> Frankish local elites accommodated Columbanus' unorthodox ideas about confession, tonsure, and the date of Easter observance.<sup>30</sup> Despite the hagiographer's assertion that the holy man intended to evangelize a wilderness, Columbanus' success at attracting the patronage of elites was also due to monasteries' place in Francia as part of the religious fabric of society. Monastic patronage by elites was an established practice with set expectations between monastic founder and elite patrons, including a mutually beneficial system of gift-giving of both material gifts and spiritual commodities, especially prayer and prestige.<sup>31</sup>

Columbanus' rule and its adaptations were suited to large foundations set in rural areas and the landed nobility of Francia promoted the new way of monastic life enthusiastically.<sup>32</sup> The dramatic increase in the number of foundations was due both to the efforts of the insular holy men who traveled in Francia in the seventh century, such as Columbanus and to the increase in native Frankish monasticism, where monasteries established and maintained by kin groups became centers of local aristocratic power. The interests of these Frankish aristocrats and traveling foreign holy men coincided. The geopolitics the migration of the *peregrini* involved both power and vulnerability, where the foreigners were

influential and imbued with the spiritual power of distant places, but lacked the real-world protection of traditional kinship networks. Likewise, the local magnates were formidable, embedded as they were in their familial networks of landed wealth. Despite their temporal power, medieval elites sought to associate themselves with the charisma of the religious migrants, as their holiness was amplified by the geographical and spiritual distance they had traversed. For instance, Columbanus was welcomed at the court of the Merovingian king of Burgundy and permitted to seek a place for a monastic foundation.<sup>33</sup> The king asked him to stay within the boundaries of the Gauls – that is, not to cross the local boundaries into the territories of other rulers. Despite the king's injunction, Columbanus did the opposite. He founded three monasteries near the border of Austrasia and Burgundy: Annegray, Fontaines, and the most famous, Luxeuil. He journeyed around both regions, ignoring Merovingian political boundaries.

While Columbanus said he sought "solitude" in an uninhabited forest, the archaeology of the Columbanian foundations demonstrates that the area was anything but uninhabited. Columbanus' first monastery at Annegray was up in the mountains, but his foundation at Luxeuil, just ten miles away from Annegray, was down in the foothills on the Roman road network.<sup>34</sup> There was a Christian community already established at Luxeuil including a necropolis with Christian burials from at least the fifth century.<sup>35</sup> The area was famous for its hot springs and was the site of the Roman complex of thermal baths. Jonas mentioned a hostel in the original list of buildings at the monastery; there would have been a variety of visitors to the monastery even in its earliest era.<sup>36</sup> Likewise, there was a *castrum* [fort] continuously occupied from the Roman through the Carolingian period. Luxeuil was in the foothills of the Vosges Mountains near the Belfort Gap, the plateau between the Vosges and Jura mountain ranges through which most of the traffic went and a critical portage between the Rhine and Saône Rivers. Jonas evocatively portrayed these foundations as located in a wilderness, using the word *saltus* ("woodland") to depict the landscape while describing those woods as filled with wild predators, including wolves and bears, and bands of Sueves who robbed travelers.<sup>37</sup> These were real threats to those on the road, but Jonas uses them metaphorically in the narrative, such as the twelve wolves who surrounded the wandering holy man before turning away because of the saint's steadfast devotion, and the Sueves were likewise turned away from the saint through the power of god. Jonas' metaphorical wilderness borrowed from the spirituality of the desert fathers, but also portrayed a real landscape with which his audience would have been familiar. Even Columbanus' more remote foundation at Annegray was not in the midst of a trackless woods; during a crisis in which a fever swept through the monastic community and all the brethren had to eat was tree-bark and forest herbs, Jonas described how two different men arrived at the gates of the monastery

with horse-drawn carts full of supplies, one a layman from a nearby village, and the other an abbot from a monastic institution nearby.<sup>38</sup> The separation from the world was both metaphorical and physical.<sup>39</sup> While as a hagiographer, Jonas was intent on constructing a narrative in which the eremitic virtues of Columbanus and his monks were on full display, he used the real landscape with its different kind of dangers, from wolves to insufficient supplies, to demonstrate these qualities.

Merovingian settlements were often deliberately sited at the margins of other communities to take advantage of resource sharing and economic specialization. However, this purely economic reasoning does not take into account the political and cultural factors of settlement foundation.<sup>40</sup> Founding Luxeuil was a political act, as its location was on the border between kingdoms (Austrasia and Burgundy), as well as on the margins of ecclesiastical boundaries between the dioceses of Langres and Besançon. This in-between-ness was central to Luxeuil's developing social power, as its liminal geographical status mirrored its founder's liminal social status. Both founder and foundation were in motion, which made them both powerful and sites of contestation, in which Merovingian elites' power as patrons and political actors encountered the spiritual power of wandering holy men and their followers. Both groups utilized one another, creating social movement that contributed to the political power of each.

This was also true at Bobbio, the monastery Columbanus founded in northern Italy under the patronage of the Lombard king Agilulf (560–616). Writing to the pope at the behest of the heretical king Agilulf and his orthodox queen Theudelinda to try to resolve a schism, Columbanus' tone in his letter was alternately placating and excoriating. Columbanus even acknowledged that he might be “too hurtful and rough a speaker” about the failings of the papal response to the schism.<sup>41</sup> Columbanus pointed out that the pope should know things had gone too far “when a gentile king of the Lombards asks a dull Irish pilgrim to write” to the pope on his behalf.<sup>42</sup> While some of this rhetoric was merely a humility *topos*, even towards the end of his life (the letter was written ca. 613), Columbanus was mediating a dispute in Italy, meeting with both the king and the pope, and inserting himself into the problems of the Italian church. This migration and changed geographical vector moved him into a new political and social system.

Just as Luxeuil had been founded in a frontier zone between Austrasia and Burgundy, Bobbio was also established in a strategic location, on the frontier between Lombard and Byzantine territories.<sup>43</sup> However, there is no evidence of any military role at the site in the seventh century, nor any Lombard military stations nearby, and the monastery did not block the road.<sup>44</sup> Rather than being a defended site, its strategic importance was as an open access economic and social site for travelers, as it was located in the Trebbia River Valley, thirty miles from its confluence with the Po

River in Piacenza.<sup>45</sup> Piacenza was a hub on the *Via Aemilia*, the north-south trunk road between the Alps and the Apennines and one of the main routes for pilgrims and travelers of all kinds. Bobbio played an essential role in hosting religious travelers and all itinerant people.<sup>46</sup> Based on careful prosopographical research, the first generation of brothers at Bobbio were, in fact, Burgundians, Franks, and Alamanni for the most part, not Lombard or Irish.<sup>47</sup> Instead of coming from the population of local people or clients, they came from places where Columbanus had created networks of association and influence, which survived his dislocation from Burgundy and Austrasia to Lombardy. This gradually changed as the monastery took root in the northern Italian countryside, attracting local brethren, such as Jonas of Susa, Columbanus' erstwhile hagiographer. Jonas himself connected to these networks and traveled between them with bishoprics and foundations of the Columbanian disciples. Jonas' first known journey from Bobbio was in 628, when he accompanied abbot Bertulf of Metz to Rome. He spent ten years in Francia, including three years with Amandus of Maastricht in Frisia. Jonas' other hagiographical works reflected his itinerant life that nonetheless was grounded in Columbanian monasticism.

To found his monastic communities, Columbanus had royal patrons in Francia and Italy, but he also courted the patronage of the aristocracy, exploiting the network of kinship ties between the subgroups of the Frankish Agilofing *Sippe*, or clan. Leading circles of Frankish aristocrats took part in the establishment of the monasteries in Columbanian monastic *familia*, linking many men and women across both space and time.<sup>48</sup> Donations of land to monasteries had a stabilizing and "detribalizing" effect on Frankish society by putting property into the hands of religious institutions rather than kinship groups.<sup>49</sup> Political motion and migration across the Frankish kingdoms and did not just involve Irishmen, but also locals or migrants from other Frankish regions, many of whom founded monasteries. Control over monasteries and the foundation of new houses was one of the building-blocks of aristocratic power.<sup>50</sup> Part of this control was forged by linking the political and religious movement of migrants with elites' desire to expand their power. These migrants crossed geographical borders as well as theological borders, bringing new religious ideas and customs with them. Embedded in this confluence of religious travel and migration was the political context of religious itinerancy and settlement.

Control over monastic territory and influence over the monastic hierarchy was particularly crucial for the Pippinid family that would come to dominate Francia in the eighth century. A significant number of Merovingian hagiographical texts have survived because they detailed the rise to power of the Pippinid family in Austrasia as they overthrew the Merovingian dynasty to found the Carolingian dynasty. The groundwork for their ascendancy was laid in the seventh century with control over monastic institutions and territories.<sup>51</sup> The memory of the deeds of the past family members in the sixth

and seventh centuries was essential to the political power of the Carolingians in the eighth and ninth centuries. This included the religious power of the Pippinids connected to “family” saints (such as Gertrude of Nivelles, the third great aunt of Charlemagne) and foreign saints (particularly from Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England) who brought the charisma of distant places with them. Saints embodied the dichotomy between spiritual power and spiritual vulnerability, between the real and the imagined, between Pippinid genealogical memory and the promotion of their dynasty.

Like other aristocratic kin groups, the Pippinid family was involved in the foundation of monasteries associated with migrant saints. These included Remiremont, which was founded by Amatus, a monk of Luxeuil, and Romaric, a dispossessed Gallo-Roman aristocrat circa 620.<sup>52</sup> Romaric was a friend of the Pippinid family, which included Arnulf, bishop of Metz, and Pippin of Landen, mayor of the Palace to Dagobert I (r. 623–639). Romaric found himself on the wrong side of political and religious controversies supporting a wandering heretical monk named Agrestius of Luxeuil.<sup>53</sup> Romaric and other Pippinid allies supported Agrestius against the combined might of the abbots of both Bobbio and Luxeuil who were buttressed by Faronid and Agilofing aristocrats. Had the Pippinid faction been successful in the dispute, it would have wrested control of most of the Columbanian monastic *familia* from Agilofing control to Pippinid family control.

Despite the failure of the Pippinid clan to gain control over the influential Columbanian monasteries, the family fostered associations with other religious migrants from Ireland and England. These migrants were Foillan and his brother Fursey (d. 650) who traveled from Ireland to Francia via East Anglia.<sup>54</sup> In Francia, they connected with the Pippinid kin group and became involved in the dynastic struggles in Neustria and Austrasia. Fursey had heavenly visions, which served two purposes.<sup>55</sup> First, these visions utilized the theological idea of religious travel as a metaphor for a person’s journey from baptism to death to the final destination of the righteous, heaven. This theological understanding of life as a journey towards a homeland in heaven with God was not just metaphorical as it had been in the work of Augustine of Hippo. In Fursey’s vision, he actually traveled to the afterlife. While this was a vision and therefore an imagined journey, for the audience of this hagiography, this was also real movement of the saint’s spirit to the heaven and back. Second, Fursey’s visionary journeys led to his real-world journeys away from Ireland to become a preacher and monastic founder.<sup>56</sup> This preaching became the impetus for Fursey’s subsequent travel from his father’s house in Ireland to the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of East Anglia and then to the Merovingian kingdom of Neustria. After ten years of monastic discipline and preaching in Ireland, Fursey and his two brothers, Foillan and Ultan, left there because some envied the brothers.<sup>57</sup> Fursey’s political problems within Ireland were not detailed, but in this narrative, this was neither the first nor the last time the saint demonstrated how vulnerable his itinerant religious life made him. While his holiness connected him across the vertical distance to

heaven through his visions, local political problems, caused by human error and human sins like envy, changed his social vector from monastic foundation and settlement to itineracy and vulnerability. After being driven out of Ireland, Fursey founded a monastery in East Anglia with royal patronage.<sup>58</sup> During a time of war and political upheaval in eastern England, Fursey fled to the Continent, leaving his brothers Foillan and Ultan in charge.<sup>59</sup> Political upheaval and war were the impetuses for Fursey's religious migrations and his life consistently vacillated between a settled and itinerant social vector.

Both Fursey and his brother Foillan founded monasteries during their movements as migrants, settling for a time and then moving along as the political situation changed. Overseas in Francia, Fursey came under the protection of the powerful Frankish aristocrat Erchinoald (d. 658), mayor of the Palace in Neustria at the court of Chlothar III.<sup>60</sup> Fursey died in 650 while traveling and was buried at a church endowed by Erchinoald at Péronne, in the diocese of Noyon.<sup>61</sup> There was tension over the control over Fursey's remains and four years later, bishops Eligius of Noyon and Audobert of Cambrai transferred the body to a new shrine at Noyon.<sup>62</sup> Cult centers were a focus for considerable power in the Frankish countryside, and there was hostility over their development even among ostensible allies. While Erchinoald and Eligius were both supporters of the Neustrian kingdom, the removal of Fursey's remains from Erchinoald's monastery at Péronne to the episcopal seat at Noyon shows that even powerful aristocrats could lose control of relics or other elements of religious connection. The blending of influences between local aristocrats in Neustria and East Anglia with the Irishmen's desire to establish new monastic houses led to successful collaboration and patronage. Some houses were plagued with problems with their aristocratic patrons, like those of Fursey in East Anglia and at Péronne, as he was not associated with local elite kinship networks in those regions.

Fursey's kin, his biological and spiritual brothers, also exhibited the same transformation of geographical and social vectors from religious travel and migration. Fursey's brother Foillan left East Anglia for Neustria and found temporary refuge at the Neustrian court, but it was short-lived, as the saint's life says, "Not long after, they were expelled by the aristocrat [*patricius* i.e. Erchinoald], who despised the wandering holy men [*viros peregrinos*]."<sup>63</sup> After displeasing the mayor of the palace and his brother's former patron, Foillan and his brethren were taken in by Erchinoald's political rivals, the Pippinids, especially Itta, widow of Pippin of Landen, and her daughter Gertrude. Foillan had the support of Pippin and Itta's son Grimoald I, best known as a usurper of the Merovingian throne. The historical chronicle produced by the Carolingian family nunnery at Chelles, the *Liber historiae francorum* said that when Sigebert III died, Grimoald had the king's son Dagobert tonsured and sent to Ireland "on pilgrimage" in collusion with Bishop Dido of Poitiers in a coup. The chronicle further asserts that Grimoald was later caught and executed on the orders of Clovis II in 657.<sup>64</sup> Foillan was interjected into the center of this hostility, as after his expulsion from Erchinoald's sphere of

influence, he placed himself under Pippinid patronage, founding Fosse, thirty miles southeast of Nivelles.<sup>65</sup> The monasteries at Fosse and Nivelles were connected through the patronage of the Pippinid family, including the founder the latter, Gertrude of Nivelles (626–59). The monastic migrants were integral in creating new vectors of power for themselves and their foundations and monasteries after their deaths. The politics of elite Frankish family networks connected to the politics of religious travelers and itinerant monks, in which religious migrants and those who patronized their monastic foundations provided each other power and legitimacy.

### **Monks inside the monastery**

Inside the new monastic foundations of the early medieval wandering saints, there was a tension between the monks' duty to stay within the monastery, their ability to leave the enclosure, and the role of the monastery as a place of reception and lodging for visitors, lay and clerical alike. A source that addresses the monastic ideals of an imagined or model monastic institution is an architectural schematic for an archetypical Benedictine monastery created at the Reichenau scriptorium and dedicated to Abbot Gozbert of St. Gall (r. 816–36).<sup>66</sup>

Though the Plan of St. Gall was an ideal type rather than any particular monastery, the logic of the “ideal monastery” of the plan had two complementary underpinnings. First, it exhibited the concerns of the monastic reform councils at Aachen in 816 and 817, especially the promotion of the Benedictine Rule. Second, it utilized the exegetical lessons of insular theologians to try to resolve the tension of the meaning of holy buildings in this world and in the next.<sup>67</sup>

The Plan was concerned to make sure that the idea of the purity of monastic space apart from the influence of the secular world was respected through a clear physical and spiritual separation between monks and the laity. The architectural separation of the monks from pilgrims, guests, and travelers is clear. About 20% of the buildings were devoted to spaces for receiving visitors, including dignitaries and their non-elite retinues, as well as pilgrims and the itinerant poor.<sup>68</sup> With gates that limited access to the church and cloister, the buildings for pilgrims were clearly labeled on the Plan, “Here let the throng of pilgrims find friendly reception,” and it included a hall for the pilgrims and paupers, a hearth for warming food pots, a supply room, a dormitory, another room, and servants' quarters. Connected to the hall was a kitchen, with a pantry, a brewery, a place for cooling the brewed beer, a bakery, an oven, and a place for leavening the bread.<sup>69</sup> Adjacent to the pilgrim hostel was the dwelling of the caretaker for the itinerant poor, as well as a single long hall that served as the access point between the monks and the pilgrims. It included an “exit and entrance to the cloister where the monks may engage in conversation with the guests and where the washing of feet takes place,” the latter of which was mandated by the Benedictine Rule.<sup>70</sup>



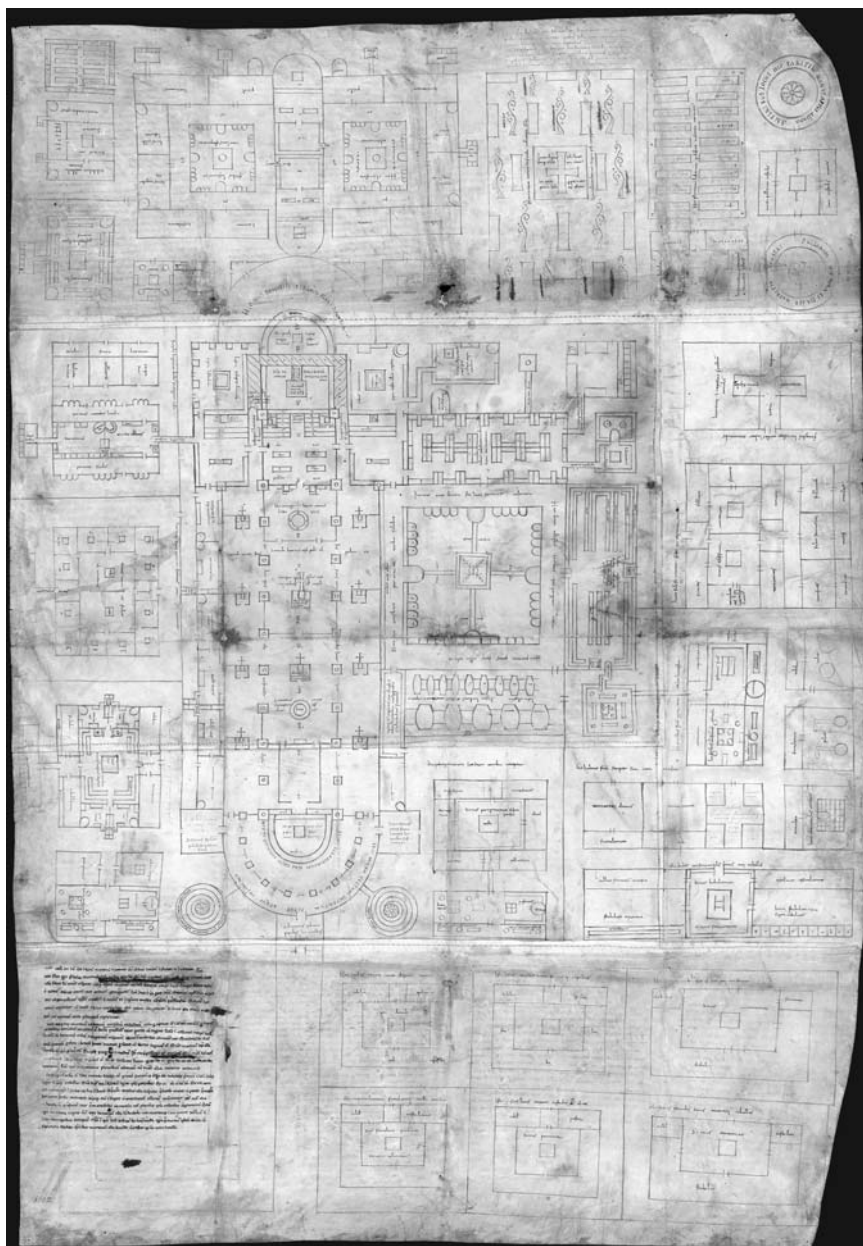


Figure 4.1 The Plan of St-Gall.

Source: Image courtesy of the Abbey Library of St-Gall, Switzerland.

While the Plan makes a poor template for a practical design of a monastery (with its many gates, doors, and separations), it was not a blueprint. Instead, it was a visual exegetical tool (not unlike commentaries by Adomnán or Bede on the Temple in Jerusalem) for contemplation on the physical and architectural features that defined the spirituality of monastic life. These included purity, the separation of monks and laymen, the links between heaven and earth, and the links between the sacred and secular worlds.<sup>71</sup>

Prescriptive texts like these that sought to delimit or curtail the movement of monks and other professed religious travelers were deeply aware of the power and the danger of travel in the early Middle Ages. The authors who offered these injunctions against gyrovagues saw that itinerant social vector as problematic, however, these same authors were aware of the tradition of holy wandering. While there is a perception that the transition between the Merovingian and Carolingian dynasties produced a dramatic change in the nature of monastic life due to the introduction of the Carolingian *renovatio*, there was far more continuity than has previously been imagined. After 754, the close relationship between the nascent Carolingian monarchy and the Frankish church became even closer, as Bishop Chrodegang of Metz was raised to the archbishopric by Pope Stephen II. Almost immediately, Chrodegang presided over a church council at Ver in July 755; in the same year, he compiled a rule for clergy, the *Regula canonicorum*.<sup>72</sup> Chrodegang was interested in church reform, including pastoral care, the correct ordering of the liturgy, and the Rule of Benedict. At the Synod of Ver, the gathered bishops sought to “correct” monastic practice, including disciplining monks traveling without permission, including trips to Rome, as well as exempting pilgrims from tolls.<sup>73</sup> This new emphasis on the regulation of movement and the Benedictine virtue of *stabilitas loci* had to be legislated time and again by early medieval church councils, indicating that wandering continued to be a part of monastic and religious life.

The Columbanian monastic tradition, once seen as particularly Irish, was deeply embedded in local Frankish political and religious life. The Carolingian *renovatio*, which emphasized adherence to Benedictine Rule, was not so far from the earlier Frankish religious traditions. Columbanus’ successors in the monasteries he established, like the founding saint himself, continued to critique rulers, travel to court and aristocratic households, dabble in politics, perform their duties of pastoral care, and establish new monasteries and daughter houses. These were distinct “Columbanian” contributions to the Frankish church in the seventh century. However, by the eighth century, they had been so established and internalized by Frankish monks and churchmen to as to seem like self-evident practices; as Albrecht Diem has noted “the *regula benedicti* promoted by Carolingian reforms might be best described as a ‘*regula columbani*’ in disguise.”<sup>74</sup> Even enclosure, once seen as simply a Benedictine monastic feature, was promoted by Jonas’ *Life of Columbanus*, which saw the monastery as an enclosed *locus sanctus* [holy place], with the

sacredness and inviolability of the space protecting the inhabitants from the external, including the patrons of the monastery itself.<sup>75</sup>

However, Columbanian ideas about holiness from the power of distant places was transformed in the Carolingian period by hagiographic authors who sought to reimagine Columbanus and his disciples into perfect Carolingian monks who followed the Benedictine Rule. This is seen in the two ninth-century saint's lives of Columbanus' disciple Gallus, who founded his monastery of St. Gall on Lake Constance (now Switzerland) in the mid-eighth century. The first *Life of Gallus* by Wetti (d. 824) and a second *Life of Gallus* by his student Walafrid Strabo (d. 849) embodied this change in attitudes.<sup>76</sup> In the earlier text by Wetti, Gallus and his teacher Columbanus were traditional holy men in the Merovingian model: itinerant, pious, and strict, performing miracles even at the very beginning of the text. Later, Walafrid Strabo's Gallus was educated and orderly, and instead of performing miracles, he showed perfect liturgical discipline as a "narrated" hagiographical version of the *Rule of St. Benedict*.<sup>77</sup>

Prescriptive sources, such as monastic rules, were not narratives of religious travel, but instead contained both real and imagined ideas about how monks should behave, including how they were supposed to interact with the non-monastic world. Along with the Benedictine Rule, another early sixth-century rule for monks, the *Rule of the Master*, did not look kindly upon those monks who wandered about without supervision.<sup>78</sup> These two sixth-century rules were both produced in Italy at monasteries that were expected to be self-sufficient and removed from their surrounding communities, unlike the urban monastic compounds of late antiquity described by earlier monastic authors such as Augustine of Hippo. While monks were supposed to be spiritually apart from the world, Augustine seemed to take it for granted that monks would be in the same physical space as a layman or laywoman; there was business to do outside of the monastery and a bustling secular world with which monks would be in contact.<sup>79</sup> In the *Rule of the Master* and the *Rule of Benedict*, however, the walls between the monastic and secular worlds were both conceptual and physical.<sup>80</sup> Monastic physical boundaries were often marked by wooden fences, hedges, and more rarely, stone walls.<sup>81</sup> Conceptually, monastic writers argued that the true Christian journey was an inward one, not defined by actual travel to holy places. Nevertheless, the early medieval religious landscape was littered with accounts of traveling holy men even as rules and conciliar legislation sought to regulate monastic behavior and require *stabilitas*. Such prescriptive texts had limited circulation in the sixth and seventh centuries. Even the Benedictine Rule spread slowly from Monte Cassino, despite Pope Gregory the Great's advocacy. According to the *Rule of the Master*, gyrovagues "demand care for their restless feet after their journey, but using traveling as a pretext, are thinking of their guts, defiled by endless drinking, rather than their feet when they want a big supper or dinner."<sup>82</sup> These monastic rules are concerned with appetites, gluttony, and the gyrovagues' transgressions against ascetic behavior proper to a monk.

This demonstrates the systematic theological division between the exterior body, which sought food, drink, sex, and other worldly appetites, and the interior soul, which needed only the divine word to nourish it.<sup>83</sup> The *Rule of the Master* described the problem with gyrovagues in this way: "They ignore the fact that is not necessity that compels them to travel so that they do not need to fast and abstain or remain anywhere for any length of time, but that it is their deliberate gluttony that motivates them when they boldly come with the intention of eating bread earned by another's labor and love to wipe of their sweat on beds or couches provided at various places for travelers."<sup>84</sup> This dichotomy between inner/ outer physical body connected with the physical space the monks inhabited both in and out of the monastery. There was an "interior monk moored to the four-square space of the monastery, and an exterior monk, whose body engages more with the world."<sup>85</sup> The Master addressed what he thought were legitimate reasons for wandering or long-distance travel obliquely as part of the critique of the gyrovague. As the *Rule of the Master* put it, gyrovagues "give their host an exaggerated account of the hardship of their journey, and... they pretend that the reason for their wandering is pilgrimage and captivity."<sup>86</sup> In an early medieval landscape filled with travelers, the voluntary travel of the pilgrim might be indistinguishable from the forced travel of the captive, or the improper travel of the gyrovague. Changing geographical vectors meant changing social vectors for early medieval religious travelers. While religious travel had become a marker of power and holiness by the fifth century, the charisma of distant places was problematic for the elites involved in the Carolingian *renovatio*, as it disrupted what they viewed as the proper social and theological order of the real world and the heavenly one. Carolingian elite authors expressed opposition to pilgrimage that was essentially opposition to the early medieval culture of religious movement as a pathway to holiness.<sup>87</sup> At the same time, there were many clerics and scholars at the court of Charlemagne who defined themselves as "strangers" or "foreigners." The most famous of these was Alcuin, who wrote a letter to the new archbishop of York in 796 that described his own life in Francia as "in peregrinatione," as opposed to those who still lived "in patria" back in Northumbria.<sup>88</sup>

The Carolingian opposition to unfettered religious movement and the instability this might entail was not unfounded in reality; monks did go walkabout when traveling. The *Rule of the Master* addressed the problem of brothers who separated without taking their leave of one another, saying that they were excommunicated from their communities. A monk who left without permission three times would not be welcomed back, as his "fidelity to the divine service in the Lord's sight is recognizable to the degree that the stability of his feet is discernible in men's sight."<sup>89</sup> For the authors of these rules, *stabilitas* by staying in one's appointed monastic house and position also meant that person had *fidelitas* to God. This dichotomy between wandering and stability, between the external physical location and the internal spiritual situation, was a key part of the prescriptive nature of the source. The

oscillation of a monk's social vector between settlement and itineracy might give him charisma and power, but it also made him dangerous to himself (lacking fidelity to God) and more importantly, dangerous to others who might seek this unstable life and put their own souls in danger.

This danger to others is emphasized by a Carolingian monastic commentator, Hildemar of Corbie, who sought to provide guidance on the Benedictine Rule. Hildemar wrote *Commentary on the Rule of St. Benedict* ca. 845. In fact, the Benedictine monastic model did not gain currency in Francia or Lombardy until the eighth and ninth centuries as the Carolingian *renovatio* sought to standardize religious practice, including monasticism. Hildemar expanded on the problem of gyrovagues; they spread their bad example around as they moved from place to place, and because they wandered, they must be exposed to good examples, but refuse to follow them. They did this because they have an appetite that could never be sated, even though they knew it was wrong. The gyrovague's peripatetic body was as dangerous as his hunger for carnal pleasures if left unchecked.<sup>90</sup> In the end, Hildemar's condemnation of gyrovagues and other bad monks came down to this: "they refuse to obey to the will of others and fulfill their own will."<sup>91</sup> For those involved in the monastic *renovatio* of the ninth century, there was no greater critique than to be unable to subsume one's own will to the will of God, as expressed by the abbot. The oscillation between settled and ordered monks and wandering and unstable gyrovagues resulted in the migrants' expulsion from their territorial, political, and religious statuses. The process of migration necessitated insecurity. Settled monks perceived this insecurity as dangerous, but that danger also brought new opportunities for religious growth, including the foundation of new monastic houses, the conversion of pagans and imperfectly Christianized peoples, and the veneration of holy men whose power came from their ascetic, unsettled life outside the standard networks of influence of biological and fictive kinship.

### Women in and out of the cloister

While the monastic rules, church councils, and theological commentators were concerned with the regulations regarding religious movement and migration, the practical aspects of the tension between movement and monastic stability can be seen mostly clearly in the female monastic foundations that religious migrants established. Like elite abbots, abbesses welcomed pilgrims, sick people, visitors, royal envoys, and refugees. They also sent messengers, kept up relations with other abbesses, their diocesan bishops, regional aristocrats, and local kings.<sup>92</sup> Women were less likely than men to wander, but just as some women went on pilgrimage, others tried to leave their family homes and monasteries. The spiritual and physical dangers for female travelers were perceived to be even higher than they were for men, as seen in Jonas' extended narrative about the life of the nun Burgundofara (d. 643/655),

the first abbess of Columbanian daughter house, Faremoutiers (in the Île-de-France).

Burgundofara was part of the Faronid aristocratic kinship group, led by her father, Chagneric. When he attempted to betroth her to a nobleman against her will, Burgundofara fled her father's house, taking refuge in the basilica of St. Peter's in Meaux (near Paris).<sup>93</sup> After the local bishop had talked her father out of killing her for disobeying him, Chagneric endowed her monastery and allowed the abbot of Luxeuil to train her and some of her female relatives in the Columbanian rule.<sup>94</sup> Faronid control over Faremoutiers did not outlast Burgundofara's lifetime, partially due to an influx of elite Anglo-Saxon women into the convent. Two of King Anna of East Anglia's four daughters became nuns and abbesses at Faremoutiers: Saethyrth and Aethelburgh (fl. 660s). Eorcangota, the daughter of King Eorconbert of Kent and grandniece of King Anna, was also a nun there.<sup>95</sup> The connection to Faremoutiers was likely made by Dagobert I's Neustrian mayor of the palace, Erchinoald, who also sent his daughters to Faremoutiers, and who had strong family ties to Anglo-Saxon England. Bede said that in the mid-seventh century:

numbers of people from Britain used to enter the monasteries of the Franks or Gauls to practice the monastic life; they also sent their daughters to be taught in them and to be wedded to the heavenly bridegroom. They mostly went to the monasteries at Faremoutiers, Chelles, and Les-Andelys-sur-Seine.<sup>96</sup>

Eorcangota's kinswoman, Hereswith, was accepted into Chelles, and the most famous of the Anglo-Saxon female migrants, Balthild, had been Erchinoald's slave before becoming the wife of Clovis II (r. 639–57). The influx of elite Anglo-Saxon women to convents in Francia was part of a concentrated effort by Erchinoald and other anti-Faronid partisans to decrease that family's political and territorial power. The power and holiness of distant places was different for women in the political context of religious travel and migration. Like male religious travelers, they migrated and took up new social vectors and new fictive kinship ties to their abbesses and sisters in foreign lands. However, they also served as links between their old and new communities, as was common for elite women who moved social vectors, kinship ties, and geographical locations through marriage.

Writing during Burgundofara's lifetime, Jonas did not discuss her Anglo-Saxon successors. However, his stories about the lives and deaths of the nuns at Faremoutiers gave a picture of female religious figures living lives focused on confession and penance, as well as women who escaped the convent or lied to the abbess about their sins. While Jonas wrote about the holy deaths and angelic visions of some of the nuns, he also discussed the divine punishment meted out to some of the women who escaped using a ladder over the wall of the monastery. Jonas says that "they took flight one night, having left the

enclosure of the monastery, wishing to return to their homes."<sup>97</sup> Once out though, the women lost their way in the thick fog in the forest of Brie around the monastery, only finding the path and arriving at their worldly destination with the devil's help. Pursued by searchers, the women ended up returning to the monastery "with sullen faces" (*"rugato fronte"*).<sup>98</sup> Convents like Faremoutiers were havens for truly religious women as well as repositories for women without a vocation whose families may not have wanted to see them marry for practical or economic reasons, such as divided patrimony. The escapees were punished by their community, but when that had no effect, divine punishment was in order. Plagued by hallucinations of black "Ethiopian" demonic shadows, the women died in torment and were buried in unconsecrated ground, haunting the monastery for three years "so that the terror of the damned should strike fear into their remaining companions."<sup>99</sup> The spiritual danger of wandering women was not just that they might be led by their own will or their appetites, but that they might be damned. Leaving the enclosure, even if it was to return to their family homes (for whatever reason) imperiled their souls. While male religious wanderers were likewise endangered, the itinerant social vector that made them outcasts also gave them power if they were genuinely holy men. For women in the hagiographical sources, there was no such corresponding power. The physical act of travel without permission made them not only outcasts from their earthly community but outcasts from the communion of saints as well, doomed to haunt the unconsecrated ground. They were meant to serve as a warning to those women who might transgress the physical boundaries of women's lives, whether as nuns themselves or as a female hagiographic audience.

Like the Columbanian nunnery at Faremoutiers, Nivelles Abbey in Flanders was created as an important female monastery connected to the monastic *familia* of Irish wandering saints, in this case, Fursey and Foillan. Nivelles' founding abbess and saint, Gertrude of Nivelles, held an essential role in Carolingian dynastic politics. As the daughter of Pippin of Landen and Itta, she was the three-times great aunt of Charlemagne. Having a saint in the Pippinid family line, especially the one who founded a convent at Nivelles where Carolingian women lived, was important to later Carolingian authors. The first saint's life of Gertrude was written shortly after her lifetime in the seventh century.<sup>100</sup> According to Gertrude's hagiographer, the Pippinid women became nuns "so that violators would not take away [Pippin and Itta's] daughter by force to the alluring pleasures of this world."<sup>101</sup> There is a clear sexual component to the language used in this passage, in which Gertrude might both be forced into sexual behavior and seduced into it. As an heir to Pippin's wealth, Gertrude would have been a crucial marital prize in the contest for power and wealth between the Austrasian and Neustrian elites of the mid-seventh century. Retreating from the world (and keeping the wealth of the Pippinids within the control of a small circle) was not a universally beloved plan. Gertrude's hagiographer says that Itta encountered significant opposition in founding a monastery.<sup>102</sup> Nivelles was a double

monastery first led by Gertrude, and later by her niece and successor Wulftrude, the daughter of the disgraced Grimoald. The magnates of both regions considered themselves Franks and many families had ties and lands in both areas; the primary considerations were spheres of influence and local political traditions.<sup>103</sup>

In keeping with the practice of Pippinid co-option of the wandering holy men who had gotten on the wrong side of the Merovingian royal family, Irish saint Foillan maintained close ties with the women of Nivelles. His foundation of Fosse was under Pippinid patronage and he undertook a journey for his patrons to Nivelles to sing the mass on the vigil day of the Roman martyr Quintin.<sup>104</sup> On his way back, Foillan was lured to a small villa and murdered along with three other men. The *vita* did not explain why Foillan may have been the target of the “diabolical men,” but the Irish holy man and his brethren had stumbled into the complicated dynastic politics between the Austrasian and Neustrian courts. Foillan’s status as a dependent of Grimoald was more than likely a factor in his murder. Gertrude and Foillan’s close ties were reiterated in the story of the discovery of his remains. After Foillan failed to appear for a court of disputes (*placitum*), Gertrude “beseeching the Lord with fasting and prayer, having sent envoys everywhere through the neighboring localities, drew the business of darkness into bright light. And thus there on the seventy-seventh day of their death, the sacred bodies were discovered.”<sup>105</sup>

The ties between Nivelles and Foillan’s foundation at Fosse were so close that Gertrude sent a messenger to a *peregrinus* at Fosse begging for reassurance about death and the Christian afterlife. The messenger returned to Gertrude with the message that she should not fear death because “Bishop Patrick and God’s elect and his angels are prepared to receive her in immense glory.”<sup>106</sup> The hagiographer himself was likely a monk attached to Fosse; he and another brother named Rinchinus were summoned to Nivelles immediately after Gertrude’s death.<sup>107</sup> The holiness of the wandering Irish saints combined with the political capital of the Pippinid to produce a new center of power at Nivelles built upon both religious motion and monastic settlement.

While the author likely wrote for a local audience at Fosse or Nivelles, the cult of Gertrude (thanks to Carolingian patronage) spread across northern Europe. Gertrude’s miracles offered protection and hospitality to those on the move. Gertrude became the patron saint of travelers and those seeking lodgings because of her special care of them within the *Life of Gertrude*. This hospitality to travelers and pilgrims was an important part of the author’s description of her sanctity and her virtues. Both the *Life of Gertrude* and the *Miracles of Gertrude* have several stories of Gertrude’s care of itinerant people, including pilgrims to the poor, and captives. During her life she and her other female family members and fellow nuns were generous, and after her death, her miracles often involved the care of these itinerant people. The saint’s life describes Gertrude as generous, charitable, chaste, ascetic, and pious, and especially caring for the “poor and indigent.”<sup>108</sup> Itta’s virtues are presented in a similar light:



having dispensed many fruits of alms throughout many places, having comforted many paupers, having received many pilgrims with every kindness, feeding the hungry, clothing the cold, offering a roof to guests, providing much money for sacred altar vessels, and strengthening the army of holy virgins...<sup>109</sup>

The frequent dedicating of hostels to saint Gertrude that prevailed in northern Europe in the central and later Middle Ages, still marked by street names, is a testament to the power of this narrative.

The main veneration of Gertrude in the early Middle Ages though remained in the area around her foundation at Nivelles. The textual evidence that does not depict Nivelles as an important site for relic veneration, which fits with the evidence with archaeology. Nivelles has been excavated twice in the past century; first in the 1950s after the destruction of some of the buildings during the Second World War, and more recently in 2009–2011.<sup>110</sup> These excavations have revealed some early medieval structures, including part of a wall that was likely part of the pre-abbatial buildings donated by Pippin of Landen and Itta. The Merovingian churches, one dedicated to the Virgin Mary and the other to the Apostle Paul, as well as a cemetery zone nearby, can all be reliably dated to the seventh and eighth centuries. Not until the tenth century is there evidence for non-ecclesiastical buildings, including ceramic tile ovens and other abbey buildings.

Nunneries were places of power and holiness, with male migrants often founding them in connection with local aristocrats, for both the daughters of local elite families like Gertrude and Burgundofara, and the daughters of long-distance elite families, like the Anglo-Saxon daughters of King Anna of East Anglia, who migrated to become members and leaders of Frankish religious houses for women. While women were less likely than men to wander because female wandering was considered more dangerous both physically and spiritually, women religious figures were migrants as well. Neither male nor female medieval travelers had an unchanging essence, and migrants often settled into new communities as settled monks and nuns. This movement and settlement was a dynamic social force for both individuals and groups.

### **From the monastery to the world: mission and migration**

Much of the scholarship on early medieval Christianization has focused on mission, but the process of remaking religious attitudes in previously pagan or “imperfectly” Christianized areas was part of larger developments in early medieval migration.<sup>111</sup> Religious travel encouraged not only Christian conversion but was an important way of integrating new cultural and economic areas. The exchanges of people and ideas between the micro-regions that made up the North Sea world were multivalent.<sup>112</sup> Like trade, pilgrimage, relic-gathering trips, wandering and *peregrinatio*, and political exile, mission was an important type of early medieval travel, but it existed alongside and

was sometimes indistinguishable from other forms of religious travel. The charisma of distant places was an important way in which political, economic, and religious power was communicated across cultural lines in the period.

The Low Countries, including Frisia and Flanders, sat at a religious and economic crossroads, becoming a center for cultural exchange and migration, particularly in the seventh and eighth centuries. The basin of the Rhine, Meuse, and Scheldt Rivers was one vast delta in the early Middle Ages with a complex hierarchy of coastal settlements.<sup>113</sup> One of the most significant of these was the inland seaport of Dorestad, which was a gateway to the larger northern world, as evidenced by the contacts between Frisia, Flanders, Scandinavia, Francia, and the British Isles that are extensively documented in material culture.<sup>114</sup> The mercantile entrepôts of the region were of economic importance, but an understudied aspect of movement in the North Sea world was the relationship between exchange and religion, and the spiritual and imagined world from which “value” (not just economic) was derived.<sup>115</sup> The places visited by religious travelers had multiple functions as “tournaments of value,” that is, complex periodic events that were set apart and occurred at a special time of year as:

a total social event where social relationships were established or renewed, ritual acts carried out, gifts exchanged, relationships with the supernatural initiated or reconfirmed, where political acts took place, and where contracts were made that acquired a sacrosanct character because of the time of their making.<sup>116</sup>

This all occurred at a cult place, such as the fair at the monastery of St. Denis near Paris on October 9 or a similar market at the Basilica of St. Servatius in Maastricht on May 13, both of which were likely begun in the seventh century.<sup>117</sup> These events would have attracted merchants and pilgrims, hosted by local religious and political elites. King Dagobert I supported the creation of these central places in his kingdom of Austrasia and neighboring Frisia, though numismatic evidence indicates that the economic, social, and even religious role of these locations was not dependent upon elites.<sup>118</sup> Along with supporting the towns and traders, Dagobert and other elites, as well as wandering missionaries and holy men, attended the fairs with many different kinds of travelers.

The politics of the Frisian mission field, including monastic settlement, migration, and religious itineracy are on display in the sources regarding the journeys of Boniface (672–754) to the region. Willibald of Mainz, the author of the *Life of Boniface*, placed the events of his subject’s life into a religious landscape that was both unified and divided, depending on his rhetorical needs. At times, Boniface’s world was a fragmented place, with skirmishes, military and political, driving the saint from one mission field to another.<sup>119</sup> Boniface engaged in wide-ranging work on the Continent in Germany, Frisia,

and Italy, beginning in 716 with his first trip to Frisia, and ending with his martyrdom there in 754. At other times, the micro-regions of Christendom were united, especially when veneration was due the saint, as it did when Willibald of Mainz claimed that the saint's life had been requested by religious men in Tuscany, the marches of Gaul, the frontiers of Germany, and the furthest reaches of Britain based on the reputation of the saint throughout Christendom.<sup>120</sup> The one constant feature of Willibald of Mainz's depiction of Boniface's connectivity was his emphasis on the cultural exchange between the religious migrants and the local people, including political and religious interactions, both positive and negative, between Boniface and those he encountered. As a child in Wessex, Boniface (then called Winfrid) was influenced by "priests or clerics, traveling abroad as is the custom in those parts, to preach to the people."<sup>121</sup> This follows the standard hagiographical *topos* of a saint's holiness revealed by his desire to serve God as a child. However, the detail that he was inspired by clerics who were visiting Wessex from a distant region hints at the diversity of wandering churchmen in the early medieval period. These anonymous preachers were part of the multifarious religious connections and contacts in the period, most of which have left little trace in the sources.

For Boniface, there was a thin line between travel for religious purposes and travel for political purposes. The first journeys he took beyond Wessex were to and from church councils and embassies to regional magnates, both secular and ecclesiastical. During a rebellion in the reign of King Ine of Wessex (688–725), the king and the heads of the local churches summoned a council, using Boniface as a messenger. After Boniface's successful embassy to Canterbury on behalf of the churchmen of Wessex, the saint did not glory in his newfound political influence, but instead began "to shun the company of his relatives and acquaintances, and to set his heart not on remaining in his native land but on traveling abroad."<sup>122</sup> Boniface's abbot at first refused to allow him to travel to the Continent, thinking that delay might dissuade the saint from traveling. Boniface's spiritual father, his abbot, disapproved of the saint's desire to leave the networks of his birth and homeland, this time for travel and mission on the Continent. Like Boniface's natal father, the abbot too gave into the saint's spiritual calling, his desire to travel abroad, giving him permission to travel to Frisia to convert pagans. Boniface's first trip to Frisia had him pay a fare to board ship in London (Lundenwich) from which he disembarked at the *wic* of Dorestad. The hagiographer said that the saint delayed there for a while because the countryside was dangerous, control over which was contested by the Pippinid Frankish king Charles Martel (ca. 688–741) and the king of the Frisians, Radbod. The journey was short and unsuccessful in winning any Christian converts due to local political instability, as there were:

great disturbances among the population of both sides, and through the dispersion of the priests and their persecution of Radbod, the greater part

of the Christian churches, which previously had been subject to Frankish control, were laid waste and brought to ruin.<sup>123</sup>

Boniface retreated from the war zone, returning to Wessex for eighteen months to regroup.

As the main *wic* of Frisia, Dorestad was also destination for Willibrord (d. 739), the Northumbrian missionary who became the first bishop of Utrecht.<sup>124</sup> Landing at the mouth of the Rhine, Willibrord too found no warm welcome from the local pagan leader Radbod. However, he did not go back to Northumbria or Ireland where he previously had been a monk.<sup>125</sup> Neither did he go directly to Rome to seek papal backing as Boniface had after his Frisian setback. Instead, Willibrord “thought it wiser to set out for Francia and visit Pippin [II of Herstal]...[who] received him with every mark of respect.”<sup>126</sup> Pippin sponsored him by giving him land and authority, even sending him to Rome to be consecrated as bishop by the pope, using the saint to set up an exchange of gifts between the king and the papal see. During Radbod’s lifetime, Willibrord tried to evangelize Frisia, but while the saint was received by the king, Radbod had no interest in Christianity, particularly when it came at the point of a Frankish sword or as part of Frankish efforts to achieve both political and social hegemony over the region.<sup>127</sup> During the reign of Charles Martel, Radbod was defeated and the Frankish leader officially appointed Willibrord to preach to the Frisian people with his episcopal see at the fortress of Utrecht. Willibrord “now attempted to bring into the church by baptism the people that had been recently won by the sword.”<sup>128</sup> Alcuin described various missionary journeys throughout Frisia after his appointment to Utrecht, from a village named Walichrum where the saint smashed a pagan idol to the coastal regions, where the holy man made water appear from a rock to slake the thirst of his fellow travelers.<sup>129</sup> Willibrord committed a serious political and cultural transgression when he camped on an island named Fositeland (modern Heligoland, Germany), which was sacred to his pagan hosts:

On this island, the man of God was driven ashore by a storm and waited for some days until the gale died down and fair weather made it possible to sail again. He set little store by the superstitious sacredness ascribed to the spot, or by the savage cruelty of the king, who was accustomed to condemn violators of the sacred objects to the cruellest death. Willibrord baptized three people in the fountain in the name of the Blessed Trinity and gave orders that some of the cattle should be slaughtered as food for his company.<sup>130</sup>

When Willibrord offended the king by slaughtering cattle on an island sacred to the pagans, it was the final straw; Willibrord escaped with his life but was sent back to Pippin, an unequivocal rejection of both Christianity and the holy man with his close ties to the Frankish court. This political context of

religious itineracy and migration was important to determining the ways that religious migrants might settle and found monasteries.

Despite his successes in Christianizing part of Germany, Boniface was set on returning to his first mission area, Frisia. He did so after Radbod had died and the area was under the control of the Franks once more, thanks to the victory of Charles Martel, whom Boniface supported. Francia became a center of not only economic exchange but also of symbolic goods exchange. In this case, the goods being exchanged were people and ideas, the spiritual guides and skilled practitioners of teaching and preaching that allowed Boniface and his companions to create important ecclesiastical and educational centers.<sup>131</sup> This long-distance intellectual and linguistic connectivity required personnel, such as these British men who submitted themselves to Boniface's authority. Readers and writers also required actual goods like books and writing materials, which were acquired through the donations of elite patrons and allies. Boniface's political power and connections that he developed through his preaching missions to princes and other elites was one of the driving economic forces behind his foundations.

Boniface's final journey and martyrdom in Frisia is well known. The saint sailed down the Rhine from his community in Bavaria to the marshy mouth of the river, safely "hazarding the perils of the river, the sea and the wide expanse of the ocean."<sup>132</sup> He traveled throughout Frisia destroying pagan temples and building churches, assisted by deacons and monks of both English and Continental extraction. In the end, he was attacked by a "pagan mob" that laid waste to his camp and stole the chests in which books and relics were kept. While the hagiographer painted them as motivated by paganism, Willibald did acknowledge that what they sought was gold and silver, which they thought was hidden in the chests they carried off to the ships. Finding them empty of this kind of wealth, they dumped the books in the marshes, some of which were found and returned to the monastery of Fulda. After Boniface's death, the local Christians attacked the pagan thieves, killing the men and "taking as their spoil the wives and children, men and maidservants of the pagan worshipers."<sup>133</sup> The bodies of Boniface and his companions were recovered and interred at Utrecht before Boniface's episcopal successor, Lull, sent a ship to take the body back to Fulda on the Rhine.<sup>134</sup> Even after his death, Boniface continued to facilitate long-distance travel, in a final *translatio* in which his relics were the goods being exchanged. Boniface's successors no doubt wished to make Fulda a destination for those seeking to make their own horizontal journey to the shrine of the missionary martyr, attempting to traverse the vertical distance between God and the religious traveler.

While it was his status as a holy outsider and foreigner that gave Boniface his power (unlike most early medieval elite power which was kin-based), Boniface's networks among elites depended on communication and a charismatic identity. His connection to Rome demonstrated this special status, which was likely not broadcast everywhere, but instead on a person-to-person

basis. For instance, a well-known letter from 722 from Pope Gregory II (who had consecrated Boniface as bishop) urged both ecclesiastical leaders (“bishops, priests, and deacons,”) as well as secular leaders (“dukes, administrators, and counts,”) to recognize his authority.<sup>135</sup> Just a year later, Boniface was at the court of Charles Martel, who also issued a letter granting Boniface his protection, addressed to an extensive range of secular and ecclesiastical officers, including, “bishops, dukes, counts, priests, servants and other agents, roaming messengers, and friends.”<sup>136</sup> These letters were not royal proclamations but instead were carried around with Boniface as he met and interacted with this wide range of Frankish powerbrokers, from dukes to local bureaucrats. Even though Boniface was an outsider to the elite Frankish kinship networks, he was an active participant in the Frankish establishment in that he helped to create a Carolingian elite.<sup>137</sup>

The itinerant monk and migrant was a figure in both geographical and social motion. These religious travelers were expelled from their native power structures, but became enmeshed in the new communities at their destinations. These migrants were liminal figures, with the charisma of distant places embodied in their geographical and cultural movement across the distance of space, but also their migration between social groups in their new homelands and settlements. While the study of the political and economic changes of the early Middle Ages has largely been separated from discussion of the religious transformation in the period, we have seen that one way to link them is through the examination the travel of religious professionals moving across Europe. These sacred people and the objects they carried became part of and were related to the religious and sacred geography around which trade and gift exchange was organized. Likewise, the new monastic institutions they founded were embedded in a political, as well as geographical landscape, of elite power that dovetailed with religious power. The movement and migration of holy men demonstrated that the changes in religion, politics, and economic exchange were closely linked through travel in the early Middle Ages.

## Notes

- 1 Benedict of Nursia, “Benedictine Rule.” In *RB 1980: The Rule of St. Benedict*, ed. Timothy Fry (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1981), 170. “Quantum vero genus est monachorum quod nominatur girovagum, qui tota vita sua per diversas provincias ternis aut quaternis diebus per diversorum cellas hospitantur, semper vagi et numquam stabiles, et propriis voluntatibus et gulæ inlecebris servientes.”
- 2 In early seventh-century Francia, the *Regula benedicti* was almost inevitably excerpted and used with other rules, the so-called *regulae mixtae* of Merovingian Gaul. See Marilyn Dunn, “Mastering Benedict: Monastic Rules and Their Authors in the Early Medieval West.” *The English Historical Review* 105, no. 416 (1990): 569.
- 3 Daniel Caner, *Wandering, Begging Monks: Spiritual Authority and the Promotion of Monasticism in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002), 230–35; Brent Shaw, “Who Were the Circumcellions?” In *Vandals*,

- Romans and Berbers: New Perspectives on Late Antique North Africa*, ed. A.H. Merrills (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), 227–58.
- 4 Thomas Nail, *The Figure of the Migrant* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015), Ch. 11, “The Vagabond,” 145–155; Thomas Nail, *Theory of the Border* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), “Introduction,” 1–17.
- 5 Nail, *The Figure of the Migrant*, 24–29; Nail, *Theory of the Border*. The conceptual basis for social kinetics or kinopolitics is found in fluid dynamics, in which movement is seen as a continuum, not as discrete particles. As Nail discusses, if social reality comprises continuous flows, the junction of two flows (different kinds of movement) explains the phenomenon of relative or perceived stasis (a flow in a loop or eddy).
- 6 Hartmut Atsma, “Les monastères urbains du nord de la Gaule.” *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* 62, no. 168 (1976): 168.
- 7 The literature on *peregrini* is extensive, from classic works such as Arnold Angenendt, *Monachi Peregrini: Studien zu Pirmin und den monastischen Vorstellungen des frühen Mittelalters* (Munich: A. Fink, 1972); to the recent edited volume, Roy Flechner and Sven Meeder, eds., *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe: Identity, Culture and Religion* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016). Ian Wood's recent overview adds depth to this ongoing conversation. See I.N. Wood, “The Irish in England and on the Continent in the Seventh Century: Part I.” *Peritia* 26 (2015): 171–98; I.N. Wood, “The Irish in England and on the Continent in the Seventh Century: Part II.” *Peritia* 27 (2016): 189–214.
- 8 Damien Bracken, “Columbanus and the Language of Concord.” In *Columbanus and the Peoples of Post-Roman Europe*, ed. Alexander O'Hara (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 19–53; Ian Wood, “Reform and the Merovingian Church.” In *Religious Franks: Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms: Studies in Honour of Mayke de Jong*, ed. Rob Meens et al. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 99.
- 9 Italy had around 100 monasteries ca. 550; Spain had eighty-six. Ian N. Wood, “Merovingian Monasticism and England.” In *Early Medieval Monasticism in the North Sea Zone: Proceedings of a Conference Held to Celebrate the Conclusion of the Lyminge Excavations 2008*, ed. Thomas Gabor and Alexandra Knox (Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology, 2017), 21.
- 10 Mayke de Jong, “Carolingian Monasticism: The Power of Prayer.” In *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick, vol. Volume 2: c.700–c.900 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 622–53; Renie S. Choy, *Intercessory Prayer and the Monastic Ideal in the Time of the Carolingian Reforms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 98–99.
- 11 Columbanus, “Epistolae.” In *Opera Sancti Columbani*, ed. G.S.M. Walker (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1957), Ep. 5.3, 38–39. “...toti Iberi, ultimi habitatores mundi, nihil extra evangelicam et apostolicam doctrinam recipientes; nullus hereticus, nullus Iudaus, nullus schismaticus fuit.” Columbanus, Ep. 5.8, 44–45. “Ego enim de extremo mundo veniens, ubi praelia Domini praeliari spirituales duces conspexi...”. See also Neil Wright, “Columbanus's Epistolae.” In *Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writings*, ed. Michael Lapidge (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1997), 29–92.
- 12 Nail, *The Figure of the Migrant*, 147.
- 13 An excellent recent monograph examines Jonas' works in detail, Alexander O'Hara, *Jonas of Bobbio and the Legacy of Columbanus: Sanctity and Community in the Seventh Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 3–4. See also the recent edited volume, Alexander O'Hara, ed., *Columbanus and the Peoples of Post-Roman Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).
- 14 Some of the most important recent articles examining how Jonas constructed a narrative and manipulated facts include: Ian Wood, “Jonas, the Merovingians,

- and Pope Honorius: Diplomata and the Vita Columbani." In *After Rome's Fall: Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History: Essays Presented to Walter Goffart*, ed. Alexander Callendar Murray (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 99–120; Christian Rohr, "Hagiographie als historische Quelle: Ereignisgeschichte und Wunderberichte in der Vita Columbani des Ionas von Bobbio." *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 103 (1995): 229–264; Alexander O'Hara, "The Vita Columbani in Merovingian Gaul." *Early Medieval Europe* 17, no. 2 (2009): 126–53; Sébastien Bully and Jean-Michel Picard, "Mensa in Deserto: Reconciling Jonas's Life of Columbanus with Recent Archaeological Discoveries at Annegray and Luxeuil." In *Transforming Landscapes of Belief in the Early Medieval Insular World and Beyond*, ed. Nancy Edwards, Máire Ní Mhaonaigh, and Roy Flechner (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2017), 119–43.
- 15 T.M. Charles-Edwards, "The Social Background of Irish Peregrinatio." *Celtica* 11(1976): 43–59; Ian Wood, "The Vita Columbani and Merovingian Hagiography." *Peritia* 1 (1982): 63–80.
  - 16 Adherence to the Benedictine Rule was not a concern for Jonas, only for later scholars who have imposed the "problem" of the mixed rule onto the seventh century. See Albrecht Diem, "The Rule of an 'Iro-Egyptian' Monk in Gaul Jonas' Vita Iohannis and the Construction of a Monastic Identity." *Revue Mabillon* 19 (2008): 28–29.
  - 17 Marilyn Dunn, "Columbanus, Charisma and the Revolt of the Monks of Bobbio." *Peritia* 20(2008): 1–27.
  - 18 Walter Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil, III, Karolingische Biographie 750–920 n. Chr.* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann Verlag, 1991), 28.
  - 19 Albrecht Diem, "Monks, Kings, and the Transformation of Sanctity: Jonas of Bobbio and the End of the Holy Man." *Speculum* 82, no. 3 (2007): 528.
  - 20 Jonas of Bobbio, "Vita Columbani." Ed. Bruno Krusch. MGH SRG 37 (Hanover, 1905), I.19, 188; Alexander O'Hara and Ian Wood, trans., *Jonas of Bobbio: Life of Columbanus, Life of John of Réomé, and Life of Vedast* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2017), 134.
  - 21 Janet L. Nelson, "Queens as Jezebels: The Careers of Brunhild and Balthild in Merovingian History." *Studies in Church History Subsidia* 1 (1978): 31–77; Bruno Dumézil, *La reine Brunehaut* (Paris: Fayard, 2008); Emma Jane Thomas, "The 'Second Jezebel': Representations of the Sixth-Century Queen Brunhild." (Ph.D. thesis, University of Glasgow, 2012).
  - 22 Columbanus, "Epistolae," Ep. 4.8, 34–35. "Nunc mihi scribenti nuntius superuenit, narrans mihi navem parari, qua invitus vehar in meam regionem; sed si fugiero, nullus vetat custos; nam hoc videntur velle, ut ego fugiam. Si in mare proiciar more Iona, qui et ipse in hebraeo columba dicitur, orate, ut vice ceti sit quidam felici revocans remigio tutus celator, qui Ionam vestrum terrae reddat optatae."
  - 23 Yaniv Fox, *Power and Religion in Merovingian Gaul: Columbanian Monasticism and the Formation of the Frankish Aristocracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 23–24.
  - 24 Bruno Krusch, ed. "Vita Amandi." MGH SRM 5 (Hanover, 1910), § 4, 433. "Ut numquam eum Dominus ad solum proprium remeare permetteret, sed omni vitae suae cursum in peregrinatione expenderetur." See also, Georg Scheibelreiter, "Griechisches – Lateinisches – Fränkisches Christentum," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 100, no. 1–4 (1992): 84–102; Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil, III*, 48–49.
  - 25 Krusch, "Vita Amandi," § 13, 437. "... a mulieribus vel a rusticis." See also Elizabeth McLuhan, "'Evangelico Mucrone: With an Evangelical Sword': Fear as a Weapon in the Early Evangelization of Gaul." In *Fear and Its Representations in*



- the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Anne Scott and Cynthia Kosso (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 107–24; Stefan Esders, “Nationes Quam Plures Conquiri: Amandus of Maastricht, Compulsory Baptism, and ‘Christian Universal Mission’ in Seventh-Century Gaul.” In *Motions of Late Antiquity: Essays on Religion, Politics, and Society in Honour of Peter Brown*, ed. Jamie Kreiner and Helmut Reimitz (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), 269–307.
- 26 Krusch, “Vita Amandi,” § 14–15, 439. “... sicque eum ad propriam remittens domum, parentibus restituit incolomem. At ubi hoc miraculum longe lateque divulgatum est, statim incolae regionis illius cursu celeri ad eum cucurrerunt, et ut eos faceret christianos, humiliter postolabant.”
- 27 Krusch, § 17, 440. “... dum pro capitalibus criminibus...” For more on Eligius and Amandus, see Charles Mériaux, “Parochiae barbaricae?” *Revue du Nord* 360–361, no. 2(2005): 293–303. For the urban-rural dichotomy, see Paul Fouracre, “The Work of Audoenus of Rouen and Eligius of Noyon in Extending Episcopal Authority from Town to Country in Seventh-Century Neustria.” In *The Church in Town and Countryside*, ed. Derek Baker, *Studies in Church History* 16 (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1979), 77–91.
- 28 Alain Dierkens, “Saint-Amand et la fondation de l’abbaye de Nivelles.” *Revue du Nord* 68, no. 269 (1986): 325–34.
- 29 Christopher Loveluck, *Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages, c.AD 600–1150: A Comparative Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 108.
- 30 Jonas of Bobbio, “Vita Columbani,” II.9, 251.
- 31 Yaniv Fox, *Power and Religion in Merovingian Gaul: Columbanian Monasticism and the Frankish Elites* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 9 and 21. For an overview on gift-giving, see Janet L. Nelson, “Introduction.” In *The Languages of Gift in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Wendy Davis and Paul Fouracre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 1–17.
- 32 O’Hara, *Jonas of Bobbio and the Legacy of Columbanus*, 4.
- 33 Scholars generally agree that Jonas incorrectly identifies the king, Sigebert I, who died in 575. The saint more likely met Sigebert’s brother Guntram, king of Burgundy (575–92) or Sigebert’s son Childebert II, king of Austrasia and Burgundy (592–96). See Donald A. Bullough, “The Career of Columbanus.” In *Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writings*, ed. Michael Lapidge (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1997), 10–11; Wood, “After Rome’s Fall,” 105–12. Jonas may have inserted Sigebert to link his *Vita Columbani* with Gregory of Tours’ account of Nicetius of Trier in *Vita Patrum*, see Diem, “Monks, Kings, and the Transformation of Sanctity,” 541–42.
- 34 Bully and Picard, “Mensa in Deserto”; Emmet Marron, “In His Silvis Silere: The Monastic Site of Annegray - Studies in a Columbanian Landscape.” (Ph.D. Thesis, National University of Ireland, Galway, 2012).
- 35 Sébastien Bully, Aurélia Bully, and Morana Čaušević-Bully, “Les Origines Du Monastère de Luxeuil (Haute-Saône) d’après Les Récentes Recherches Archéologiques.” In *L’empreinte Chrétienne En Gaule, Du IVe Au IXe Siècle*, ed. Michèle Gaillard (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2014), 311–55.
- 36 Jonas of Bobbio, “Vita Columbani,” I.19, 190; O’Hara and Wood, *Jonas of Bobbio*, 137.
- 37 Jonas of Bobbio, “Vita Columbani,” I.7, 164–65 and I.8, 166–7.
- 38 Jonas of Bobbio, “Vita Columbani,” I.7, 164–65.
- 39 E.T. Dailey, “Confinement and Exclusion in the Monasteries of Sixth-Century Gaul,” *Early Medieval Europe* 22, no. 3 (2014): 304–35.
- 40 Helena Hamerow, *Early Medieval Settlements: The Archaeology of Rural Communities in Northwest Europe, 400–900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 103.

- 41 Columbanus, "Epistolae," Ep. 5.14, 52–53. "Date, quaeso, veniam mihi nimis iniurioso asperoque cuidam loquaci, qui de tali causa aliter scribere non potui." The "Three Chapter Controversy" was part of the larger Chalcedonian controversy, see Celia Martin Chazelle and Catherine Cubitt, eds., *The Crisis of the Oikoumene: The Three Chapters and the Failed Quest for Unity in the Sixth-Century Mediterranean* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007); Damian Bracken, "Authority and Duty: Columbanus and the Primacy of Rome." *Peritia* 16 (2002): 168–213; Damien Bracken, "Juniors Teaching Elders: Columbanus, Rome, and Spiritual Authority." In *Roma Felix: Formation and Reflections of Medieval Rome*, ed. Éamonn Ó Carragáin and Carol L. Neuman de Vegvar (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2007), 253–76.
- 42 Columbanus, "Epistolae," Ep. 5.14, 52–53. "Sed quando rex gentilis peregrinum scribere Longobardus Scotum hebetem rogat, quando unda torrentis antiqui retro redundat, quis non mirabitur potius quam calumniabitur?"
- 43 Hans Werner Goetz, "Concepts of Realm and Frontiers from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages: Some Preliminary Remarks." In *The Transformation of Frontiers from Late Antiquity to the Carolingians*, ed. Walter Pohl, Ian N. Wood, and Helmut Reimitz (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 73–82.
- 44 Neil Christie and Richard Hodges, "Anxious Abbots? Questions of Monastic Security and Insecurity in Early Medieval Europe." In *Fortified Settlements in Early Medieval Europe: Defended Communities of the 8th-10th Centuries*, ed. Neil Christie and Hajnalka Herold (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2016), 140.
- 45 Neil Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne: An Archaeology of Italy, AD 300–800*. (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2006), 173.
- 46 Eleonora Destefanis, "Le monastère face aux laïques au haut Moyen Âge : lieux de culte secondaires et accueil aux limites de l'espace monastique dans le contexte italien." *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre | BUCEMA*, no. 8 (2015).
- 47 Alessandro Zironi, *Il Monastero Longobardo di Bobbio: Crocevia di Uomini, Manoscritti e Culture* (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 2004), 44–46.
- 48 Fox, *Power and Religion in Merovingian Gaul*, 55.
- 49 Hamerow, *Early Medieval Settlements*, 119.
- 50 Marilyn Dunn, *The Emergence of Monasticism: From the Desert Fathers to the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 163.
- 51 Hans J. Hummer, *Politics and Power in Early Medieval Europe: Alsace and the Frankish Realm, 600–1000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 28–34.
- 52 Bruno Krusch, ed., "Vita Romarici," MGH SRG 4 (Hanover, 1902), § 3, 221–25; Fox, *Power and Religion in Merovingian Gaul*, 90–91. Romaric had been dispossessed by the wars between brothers Theudebert II of Austrasia and Theuderic II of Burgundy in which Columbanus had also been involved.
- 53 Jonas of Bobbio, "Vita Columbani," II.10, 252–55. Agestius formed his heretical ideas during his time as a missionary in Bavaria and northern Italy, ostensibly following in the footsteps of Columbanus. Fox, *Power and Religion in Merovingian Gaul*, 96; Bruno Dumézil, "L'affaire Agrestius de Luxeuil : hérésie et régionalisme dans la Bourgondie du VIIe siècle." *Médiévales. Langues, Textes, Histoire*, no. 52 (2007): 135–52.
- 54 Ian Wood, *Fursey and His Brothers: Their Contribution to the Irish Legacy on the Continent* (Norwich: Fursey Pilgrims, 2016).
- 55 Marilyn Dunn, "Gregory the Great, the Vision of Fursey, and the Origins of Purgatory." *Peritia* 14 (2000): 238–54; Marina Smyth, "The Origins of Purgatory through the Lens of Seventh-Century Irish Eschatology." *Traditio* 58 (2003): 91–132.

- 56 Bruno Krusch, ed., "Vita Virtutesque Fursei." MGH SRM 4 (Hanover, 1902), § 3, 435–36. In his vision, he had two Irish priests as guides, Beoan and Meldan, who ordered Fursey back to the world to fulfill the work of preaching. Bede names them as "holy men of his [Fursey's] own nation."
- 57 Krusch, § 6, 436–37. "Aliquantorum etiam animos, invidia stimulante contra se commotus esse deprehendens, relictis omnibus quae habere videbatur."
- 58 Krusch, § 7, 437. See also Bede. *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), III.18. Bede said that the monastery was situated close to both the woods and the sea and was called Cnobheresburg. His patron Sigebert was killed in battle by Penda of Mercia in 636.
- 59 Bruno Krusch, ed., "Additamentum Nivialense." MGH SRM 4 (Hanover, 1902), 449. "Post discessu vero beati viri Fursei tempestas illa, quam ille in spiritu praeviderat, ultramarinis desevebat in oris." Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* summarizes the *vita* and advises the reader to "read the booklet of [Fursey's] life, which I have mentioned; I think he will get much spiritual profit from it." Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, III.19.
- 60 Erchinoald is best known as the owner of the Anglo-Saxon slave-turned-queen Balthild, who provided her as a wife to Clovis II. Erchinoald had close ties with Anglo-Saxon England and may have been the father of Emma, wife of King Eadwald of Kent. He was related to Dagobert II through the king's mother, and his land-base was around Amiens, with estates gifted to Fursey to found monasteries after his arrival in Neustria. For more on Erchinoald, see Paul Fouracre and Richard A. Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography, 640–720* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 97–104 and 315–17; Ian Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms, 450–751* (London: Longman, 1994), 177, 189–90, 198; Patrick J. Geary, *Before France and Germany: The Creation and Transformation of the Merovingian World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 183–88.
- 61 Michael Richter, *Ireland and Her Neighbours in the Seventh Century* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999).
- 62 Krusch, "Vita Virtutesque Fursei," § 10, 439.
- 63 Krusch, "Additamentum Nivialense," 449–50. "Quo non multo post a patricio viros peregrinos despiciente expulsi sunt."
- 64 Bruno Krusch, ed., "Liber Historiae Francorum," MGH SRM 2 (Hanover, 1888), § 43, 316. "Grimoaldus filium eius [Sigebert] parvulum nomine Dagobertum totundit Didonemque Pectavensem urbis episcopum in Scotia peregrinandum eum direxit." See also Geary, *Before France and Germany*, 190–94; Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, 222–24; Jean-Michel Picard, "Church and Politics in the Seventh Century: The Irish Exile of Dagobert II." In *Ireland and Northern France, A.D.600–850*, ed. Jean-Michel Picard (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1991), 27–52.
- 65 Alain Dierkens, *Abbayes et chapitres entre Sambre et Meuse (VIIe-XIe siècles). Contribution à l'histoire religieuse des campagnes du Haut Moyen Age* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1985), 70–76.
- 66 Walter William Horn and Ernst Born, *Plan of St. Gall: Study of the Architecture and Economy of, and Life in, a Paradigmatic Carolingian Monastery*, 3 vols. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1979). Digitized: Patrick Geary, "The Plan of St. Gall," Carolingian Culture at Reichenau & St. Gall - Karolingischen Kultur in Reichenau und St. Gallen. Accessed January 6, 2019, <http://www.stgallplan.org/index.html>.
- 67 These from Bede's work on the ideal sanctuary in *De templo* and the eighth-century Irish canon law collection *Collectio canonum Hiberniensis*. Samuel W. Collins, *The Carolingian Debate over Sacred Space* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012), 70–81.

- 68 Richard E. Sullivan, "What Was Carolingian Monasticism? The Plan of St. Gall and the History of Monasticism." In *After Rome's Fall: Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History: Essays Presented to Walter Goffart*, ed. Alexander Callendar Murray (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 274.
- 69 Patrick Geary, ed., "The Plan of St. Gall - Plan Notations." Accessed January 6, 2019, [http://www.stgallplan.org/StGallDB/plan\\_components/public\\_list\\_ber schin\\_english](http://www.stgallplan.org/StGallDB/plan_components/public_list_ber schin_english). "Hic peregrinorum laetetur turba recepta / domus peregrinorum et pauperum / testu / camera / dormitorium / aliud / seruiuentium mansiones / cellarium / bracciorium / ad refrigerandum ceruisam / pistrinum / fornax / locus conspergendi."
- 70 Geary, ed., "The Plan of St. Gall - Plan Notations." "Tota monasterio famulantum hic turba subintret / pausatio procuratoris pauperum / exitus et introitus ante claustrum ad conloquendum cum hospitibus et ad mandatum faciendum."
- 71 Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 229–30; Collins, *The Carolingian Debate over Sacred Space*, 80.
- 72 M.A. Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church: Chrodegang of Metz and the Regula Canonorum in the Eighth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
- 73 Alfred Boretius, ed., *Synod of Ver, 755*, MGH Capit. I (Hanover: 1883, n.d.), § 10 and 22, 35–37.
- 74 Albrecht Diem, "The Carolingians and the Regula Benedicti." In *Religious Franks: Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms: Studies in Honour of Mayke de Jong*, ed. Rob Meens et al. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 261; Albrecht Diem, "Columbanian Monastic Rules: Dissent and Experiment." In *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe: Identity, Culture and Religion*, ed. Roy Flechner and Sven Meeder (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016), 68–85.
- 75 Diem, "The Carolingians and the Regula Benedicti," 261.
- 76 Wetti, "Vita Galli I." Ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM 4 (Hanover, 1902), 257–79; Walafrid Strabo, "Vita Galli." Ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM 4 (Hanover, 1902), 280–337.
- 77 Diem, "The Carolingians and the Regula Benedicti," 258–59.
- 78 Dunn, "Mastering Benedict." Albrecht Diem and P. Rousseau, "Monastic Rules." In *Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, ed. Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming 2020).
- 79 Augustine of Hippo, "Praeceptum." In *Augustine of Hippo and His Monastic Rule*, ed. George Lawless (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), § 5.7, 96.
- 80 Hendrick Dey, "Building Worlds Apart. Walls and the Construction of Communal Monasticism from Augustine through Benedict." *Antiquité Tardive* 12 (2004): 362.
- 81 Christie and Hodges, "Anxious Abbots? Questions of Monastic Security and Insecurity in Early Medieval Europe."
- 82 Adalbert de Vogüé, ed., "Regula Magistri." In *La Règle Du Maître*, vol. 2, Sources Chrétiennes 106 (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1964), I.19; Luke Eberle, trans., *The Rule Of The Master* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1977).
- 83 On Hildemar's use of *homo exterior* and *homo interior*, see de Jong, "Carolingian Monasticism," 639.
- 84 de Vogüé, "Regula Magistri," I.60–61; Eberle, *The Rule Of The Master*, 109.
- 85 Lynda L. Coon, *Dark Age Bodies: Gender and Monastic Practice in the Early Medieval West* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 99.
- 86 de Vogüé, "Regula Magistri," I.22–23; Eberle, *The Rule Of The Master*.

- 87 Janet L. Nelson, "Opposition to Pilgrimage in the Reign of Charlemagne." In *Rome and Religion in the Medieval World: Studies in Honor of Thomas F.X. Noble*, ed. Valerie L. Garver and Owen M. Phelan, 65–82. (London: Routledge, 2016); Giles Constable, "Opposition to Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages." *Studia Gratiana* 19 (1976): 123–46; Maribel Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims: Ascetic Travel in the Mediterranean World, A.D. 300–800*. (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2005), 36.
- 88 Alcuin, "Epistolae Alcuini." Ed. Ernst Dümmler. MGH Epp. IV, Epistolae Karolini Aevi II. (Berlin, 1895), Ep. 114, 169. "Omnes filios meos, fratres et amicos – sive qui mecum sunt in peregrinatione, sive qui tecum versari videntur in patria – tuae commendo diligentissime fidelitate." See also Linda Dohman, "Wanderers between Two Worlds: Irish and Anglo-Saxon Scholars at the Court of Charlemagne." In *Difference and Identity in Francia and Medieval France*, ed. Meredith Cohen and Justine Firnhaber-Baker (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2010), 77–98.
- 89 de Vogüé, "Regula Magistri," LXIV.2; Eberle, *The Rule Of The Master*, 231.
- 90 Coon, *Dark Age Bodies*, 111–12.
- 91 Hildemar of Corbie, *Exposito*, ed. Albrecht Diem, The Hildemar Project, 2014, § 1, [http://hildemar.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=15&catid=15&Itemid=102](http://hildemar.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=15&catid=15&Itemid=102). "Et forte dicit aliquis: 'Aliquid simile habent Sarabaitae cum gyrovagis, id est, quia renuunt voluntati aliorum obedire et suam voluntatem adimplere.'"
- 92 Régine Le Jan, "Convents, Violence, and Competition for Power in Francia." In *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Frans Theuws, Mayke de Jong, and Carine van Rhijn (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 246.
- 93 Jonas of Bobbio, "Vita Columbani," I.50.
- 94 Jonas of Bobbio, "Vita Columbani," II.7 and II.12.
- 95 Le Jan, "Convents, Violence, and Competition for Power in Francia," 255; Fox, *Power and Religion in Merovingian Gaul*, 211–12; Barbara A.E. Yorke, "Queen Balthild's 'monastic policy' and the Origins of Female Religious Houses in Southern England." In *Early Medieval Monasticism in the North Sea Zone: Proceedings of a Conference Held to Celebrate the Conclusion of the Lyminge Excavations 2008*, ed. Thomas Gabor and Alexandra Knox (Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology, 2017), 8.
- 96 Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, III.8. "Multi de Brittaniam monachicae conversationis gratia Francorum uel Galliarum monasteria adire solebant; sed et filias suas eisdem erudiendas, ac sponso caelesti copulandas mittebant; maxime in Brige, et in Cale, et in Andilegum monasterio." The original author said that they journeyed to "Saxony" – a misunderstanding of English geography corrected by Bede into "the province of the Angles." See David Rollason, *Northumbria, 500–1100: Creation and Destruction of a Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 124–25.
- 97 Jonas of Bobbio, "Vita Columbani," II.19, 273. "Ut quadam nocte extra septa monasterii progressae fugam arriperent hac ad propria remeare vellent."
- 98 Jonas of Bobbio, II.19, 273. "Cumque ad locum pervenissent destinatum, subsequentibus inquisitoribus, nullis obstantibus, ad praefatum coenubium rugato fronte redeunt."
- 99 Jonas of Bobbio, II.19, 275. "Ut terror damnatorum timorem praerberet sodalium remanentium." The ghost story depends heavily on Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*, especially Book IV.
- 100 All citations come from the older "A" text of the *Vita Geretrudis* in the left-hand column of the MGH edition by Bruno Krusch. Krusch, ed., "Vita Sanctae Geretrudis," MGH SRM 2 (Hanover, 1888), 447–74.

- 101 Krusch, "Vita Sanctae Geretrudis," § 2, 456. "Ut non violatores animarum filiam suam ad inlecebras huius mundi voluptates per vim raperent..." For more on Itta's disposition of the Pippinid family wealth to the church, see J.J. Hoebanx, *L'Abbaye de Nivelles Des Origines Au XIVe Siècle* (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1952), 86–95; Dierkens, "Saint-Amand et la fondation de l'abbaye de Nivelles."
- 102 Krusch, "Vita Sanctae Geretrudis," § 2, 456. Also Le Jan, "Convents, Violence, and Competition for Power in Francia."
- 103 Geary, *Before France and Germany*, 192. Geary argues that there was no "ethnic" hostility between Germanic East and Roman West, for instance, Austrasia included old Roman cities such as Reims and Laon. See also Felice Lifshitz, *The Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria: Historiographic Discourse and Sainly Relics, 684–1090* (Toronto: PIMS, 1995), 37–55.
- 104 The veneration of Quintin provides a link to Eligius of Noyon. *Vita Eligii* says that the saint discovered relics of Quintin by digging in his churchyard, guided by the hand of God. Dado of Rouen, "Vita Eligii Noviomagensis." Ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM 4 (Hanover, 1902), II.6, 698–99. Paul Fouracre suggests that the cult of Quentin, whose body was found in the official metropolis *urbs* of the diocese, was intended to be the episcopal cult center with saintly relics that rivaled those of Furse at Péronne. See Fouracre, "The Work of Audoenus of Rouen and Eligius of Noyon." It is ironic then that Furse's own brother was murdered by Neustrian partisans after Foillan had accepted the patronage of the Austrasian Pippinids. See also Charles Mériaux, *Gallia irradiata: Saints et sanctuaires dans le nord de la Gaule du haut Moyen Age* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006), 38–39.
- 105 Krusch, "Additamentum Nivialense," 451. "Sed praedicta Christi virgo Garetrudis ieiuniis et obsecrationibus Domino supplicans, missis ubique per vicina loca cursoribus, tenebrarum negocium in lucem produxit claram, et sic septuagesimo septimo die obitus sui sacra inventa sunt corpora."
- 106 Krusch, "Vita Sanctae Geretrudis," § 7, 463. "...quia beatus Patricius episcopus cum electis angelis Dei et cum ingenti gloria parati sunt eam recipere." This is the first reference that suggests that Patrick's cult had reached the Continent. Gertrude shares her feast day, March 17, with Patrick.
- 107 Ian Wood cautioned against the assumption that the author was a monk of Fosse, suggesting that the author may have been a nun of Nivelles in his article, Ian Wood, "Administration, Law, and Culture in Merovingian Gaul." In *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 70 n. 50. However, scholarly opinion has generally accepted that the author was a monk from Fosse, as laid out by Bruno Krusch in the introduction to the edition, Krusch, "Vita Sanctae Geretrudis," 448. See also Hoebanx, *L'Abbaye de Nivelles Des Origines Au XIVe Siècle*, 31–36; Dierkens, "Saint-Amand et la fondation de l'abbaye de Nivelles," 326 n. 5; Rosamond McKitterick, "Women and Literacy in the Early Middle Ages." In *Books, Scribes and Learning in the Frankish Kingdoms 6th - 9th Centuries*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick, vol. XIII (Aldershot: Variorum, 1994), 26; Catherine Peyroux, "Gertrude's Furor: Reading Anger in an Early Medieval Saint's Life." In *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. Barbara H. Rosenwein (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), 39.
- 108 Krusch, "Vita Sanctae Geretrudis," § 6, 461. "praefatumauperes et egenos."
- 109 Krusch, "Additamentum Nivialense," 450. "Contigit hic, postquam predicta Dei famula, multis elemosinarum fructibus per diversa loqua dispensatis multisque pauperibus consolatis, multis etiam peregrinis cum omni humanitate susceptis, esurientes reficiens, algidos vestiens, tectum hospitibus praebens, immensa quoque

- munera divinis ministeriis exhibens sanctorumque virginum agmen cum supra-  
dicta nobili in Domino confirmans...
- 110 Marie-Laure van Hove et al., "Dans La Clôture d'une Grande Abbaye: Premiers Résultats Des Recherches Archéologiques Menées Sur La Place de Nivelles (2009–2011)." *Medieval and Modern Matters* 3 (2012): 165–209.
- 111 Ian N. Wood, *The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe, 400–1050* (London: Longman, 2001); Ian Wood, "The Ideas of Mission in the Carolingian World." In *Le Monde Carolingien: Bilan, Perspectives, Champs de Recherches: Actes Du Colloque International de Poitiers, Centre d'études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale, 18–20 Novembre 2004*, ed. Yves Sassier and Wojciech Fałkowski (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 183–98.
- 112 Janet L. Nelson, "Carolingian Contacts." In *Mercia. An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe*, ed. Michelle P. Brown and Carol A. Farr (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 2001), 125–43.
- 113 Dries Tys, "Maritime Environment and Social Identities in Medieval Coastal Flanders: The Management of Water and Environment and Its Consequences for the Local Community and the Landscape." In *Maritime Societies of the Viking and Medieval World*, ed. James H. Barrett and Sarah Jane Gibbon (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2015), 124–25.
- 114 Willemsen and Kik, *Dorestad in an International Framework*; Daniel Melleno, "North Sea Networks: Trade and Communication from the Seventh to the Tenth Century." *Comitatus: A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 45, no. 1 (2014): 65–89; Annemarieke Willemsen, "Dorestad as a Fluvial Society." In *Maritime Societies of the Viking and Medieval World*, ed. James H. Barrett and Sarah Jane Gibbon (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2015), 108–21.
- 115 Building upon the work of sociologist Arjun Appadurai is Frans Theuws, "Exchange, Religion, Identity and Central Places in the Early Middle Ages." *Archaeological Dialogues* 10, no. 2(2004): 124. Responses to Theuws' argument in the special issue of the journal include Richard Hodges, "The Cosmology of the Early Medieval Emporia?" *Archaeological Dialogues* 10, no. 2(2004): 138–44; John Moreland, "Objects, Identities and Cosmological Authentication." *Archaeological Dialogues* 10, no. 2(2004): 144–49; Frans Theuws, "Closer to the Essence of the Early Middle Ages. A Reply." *Archaeological Dialogues* 10, no. 2 (2004): 149–59.
- 116 Theuws, "Exchange, Religion, Identity and Central Places in the Early Middle Ages," 126.
- 117 The most famous early medieval example was the market of St. Denis, which was not simply a market for the wine trade. Rather, it was begun around 634 or 635 by King Dagobert I (r. 623–39) to coincide with the grape harvest and the feast day of St. Denis at the monastery on October 9. Stéphane Lebecq, *Marc-hands et navigateurs frisons du haut Moyen Âge: Corpus des Sources écrites* (Lille: Presses universitaires de Lille, 1983), 25–26; Michael McCormick, *The Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, c.700-c.900*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 648–53.
- 118 Golden coins called *tremissis* (one-third of the value of a gold *solidus*) were struck throughout Merovingian territories in the seventh century. Coins survive from three major mints in Austrasia, Reims, Metz, and Maastricht. Similar Frisian coins also proliferated; one particular moneyer named Madelinus made nearly identical coins at both Maastricht and Dorestad in the mid-seventh century. Philip Grierson and Mark Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, vol. 1, *The Early Middle Ages (5th–10th Centuries)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 137.
- 119 Theodor Schieffer, *Winfrid-Bonifatius und die Christliche Grundlegung Europas* (Freiberg: Herder, 1954); J.M Wallace-Hadrill, "A Background to St. Boniface's

- Mission." In *Early Medieval History. Collected Essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 138–54; Timothy Reuter, ed., *The Greatest Englishman: Essays on St. Boniface and the Church at Crediton* (Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1980).
- 120 Willibald, "Vita Bonifatii." Ed. Wilhelm Levison. MGH SRG 57. (Hanover, 1905), § 1, 2. "Petentibus relegiosis ac catholicis viris, quibus vel in Tusciae partibus vel in Galliae terminis vel in Germaniae aditibus aut etiam in Brittaniae limitibus sancti Bonifatii martyris fama miraculorumque choruscatio perstrepuat."
- 121 Willibald, § 1, 5. "Cum vero aliqui, sicut illis regionibus moris est, presbiteri sive clerici populares vel laicos praedicandi causa adissent et ad villam domumque praefati patrisfamilias venissent, mox, quantum possibilitatis eius pusillanimitas in infantia sua praevaluit, coeperat cum eius de caelestibus loquendo tractare et, quid sibi suaeque infirmitate in futurum proficeret, interrogare." Trans., Noble, Thomas F.X. and Thomas Head, eds. *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*. (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State Press, 1995), 111.
- 122 Willibald, "Vita Bonifatii," § 4, 15. "... coeperat ad alia multa sollicitudinis cura adtentius properare et parentum adfiniumque suorum consortia devitare et peregrina magis quam paternae hereditatis terrarum loca desiderare." Noble and Head, *Soldiers of Christ*, 117.
- 123 Willibald, "Vita Bonifatii," § 4, 16. "Sed quoniam, gravi ingruente paganorum impetu, hostilis exorta dissensio inter Carlum principem gloriosumque ducem Franchorum et Redbodum regem Fresonum populos ex utraque parte perturbabat maximeque iam pars ecclesiarum Christi, quae Franchorum prius in Fresia subiectae erant imperio, Redbodi incumbente persecutione ac servorum Dei facta expulsiōne, vastata erat ac destructa." Noble and Head, *Soldiers of Christ*, 118.
- 124 Alcuin's *Vita Willibrordi* was addressed to Beornrad, archbishop of Sens and abbot of Echternach (777–97), Willibrord's monastic foundation and a center of Northumbrian learning on the Continent. Alcuin, "Vita Willibrordi." Ed. Wilhelm Levison, MGH SRM 7 (Berlin, 1920), 113. In the eleventh century, Thiotfrid of Echternach claimed that Alcuin had written his *Vita Willibrordi* based on an earlier text written by an Irishman. Alcuin, "Vita Willibrordi." In *L'œuvre hagiographique en prose d'Alcuin : Vitae Willibrordi, Vedasti, Richarii*, ed. Christiane Veyrard-Cosme (Florence: SISMEL, 2003), 71–86.
- 125 Originally at Wilfrid of York's monastery at Ripon, Willibrord sought to imitate the lives of Wichtbert and Ecgbert, both of whom traveled to Ireland after the Synod of Whitby to remain faithful to the Irish monastic way of life despite the triumph of the Roman practice at the 664 synod, going to the abbey of Rath Melsigi, in Connaught. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, "Rath Melsigi, Willibrord and the Earliest Echternach Manuscripts." *Peritia* 3 (1984): 17–49.
- 126 Alcuin, "Vita Willibrordi," MGH SRM 7 § 5, 120–21. "Visum est viro Dei Franciam contendere ac ducem illorum adire Pippinum, virum strenuum, triumphis clarum et moribus probum. Qui eum cum omni honore suscipiens..."
- 127 Richard Broome, "Pagans, Rebels, and Merovingians: Otherness in the Early Carolingian World." In *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Clemens Gantner, Rosamond McKitterick, and Sven Meeder (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 159–61; Stéphane Lebecq, "Paganisme et rites sacrificiels chez les Frisons des VIIe – VIIIe siècles." In *Bonifatius – Leben und Nachwirken: die Gestaltung des christlichen Europa im Frühmittelalter*, ed. Franz J Felten, Jörg Jarnut, and Lutz von Padberg (Mainz: Gesellschaft für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 2007), 111–20.



- 128 Alcuin, "Vita Willibrordi," § 13, 127. "Qui, maiori evangelizandi occasione accepta, nuper gladio adquisitam gentem sacro baptismate abluere conatus est." Noble and Head, *Soldiers of Christ*, 201.
- 129 Alcuin, § 14 and 16.
- 130 Alcuin, § 10, 125. "Quo cum vir Dei tempestate iactatus est, mansit ibidem aliquot dies, quousque, sepositis tempestatibus, oportuno navigandi tempus adveniret. Sed parvi pendens stultam loci illius relegionem vel ferocissimum regis animum, qui violatores sacrorum illius atrocissima morte damnare solebat, igitur tres homines in eo fonte cum invocatione sanctae Trinitatis baptizavit, sed et animalia in ea terra pascentia in cibaria suis mactare praecepit." Noble and Head, *Soldiers of Christ*, 199.
- 131 The monks at Fulda were prolific hagiographers during the ninth century; see Janneke Raaijmakers, *The Making of the Monastic Community of Fulda, C.744-c.900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). Abbot Eigil of Fulda wrote *Vita Sturm* in the 810s; Eigil himself had a *vita* written about him by Brun Candidus at the request of Hranbanus Maurus of Fulda, ca. 839–42. Hrabanus also commissioned a *Vita Leobae* ca. 836, just before the translation of her relics in 838. James T. Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish World*, 33–34.
- 132 Willibald, "Vita Bonifatii," § 18, 47. "Cumque periculosum fluminum marisque et ingentium aquarum evassit discrimen." Noble and Head, *Soldiers of Christ*, 134.
- 133 Willibald, "Vita Bonifatii," § 8, 52. "Sique saltim christiani, superstitiosorum tam uxoribus quam etiam filiis necnon servis et ancillis deprædatis, ad propria redierunt..." Noble and Head, *Soldiers of Christ*, 137.
- 134 James Palmer, "The 'Vigorous Rule' of Bishop Lull: Between Bonifatian Mission and Carolingian Church Control." *Early Medieval Europe* 13, no. 3 (2005): 249–76.
- 135 Boniface, *S. Bonifatii et Lulli Epistolae*. Ed. M. Tangl. MGH Epp. Sel. I. (Berlin, 1916), Ep. 17, 30. "... gloriosi duces, magnifici gastaldi, comites."
- 136 Boniface, Ep. 22, 36. "Episcopis, ducibus, comitibus, vicariis, domesticis vel omnibus agentibus nostris seu missis discurrentibus et amicis nostris."
- 137 Stuart Airlie, "The Frankish Aristocracy as Supporters and Opponents of Boniface." In *Bonifatius - Leben und Nachwirken: Die Gestaltung des Christlichen Europa im Frühmittelalter*, ed. Franz J. Felten, J. Jarnut, and L. von Padberg (Mainz: Verlag der Gesellschaft für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 2007), 256.

## 5 Unfreedom and religious migration

Connections between people and places in the early Middle Ages were not necessarily positive or voluntary. Exile from one's homeland for crimes or debts was common, as was political exile from a particular territory because of the displeasure of a king or secular magnate. Forced exile was one form of involuntary movement; slavery was another way that people might move from place to place because of forces outside of their personal control. This lack of control over one's own movement was a key part of early medieval unfreedom, which formed an important part of the early medieval experience of religious travel. Religious travel was connected to economic networks, including the exchange of slaves. While the economic importance of slavery cannot be overstated, men and women traveled, or were forced to travel, along the same routes (likely on the same ships) whether they were traders, pilgrims, exiles, or slaves. For any traveler, movement could be a measure of their power and holiness, with religious travelers mediating both horizontal and vertical distances. Likewise, unfreedom could play that role as well, with a person's outsider or unfree status shaping his or her religious role as a traveler. An examination of the relationship between unfreedom and travel integrates the economic motives for human exchange with other motives: religious, cultural, diplomatic, and political. For unfree travelers, migration entailed changes in political, social, and, geographical movement. As Thomas Nail has described it, the "migrant does not just change place but also changes status (becomes apolitical, criminal, unemployable, etc.)"<sup>1</sup> Unfree migrants' movement could include changes in both religious and political status, increasing the unfree traveler's spiritual power. This had effects on others' perception of him as a person with charismatic authority and travel to distant places contributed to his holiness and power, no matter his political or legal status.

Historians have drawn a distinction between the "slave society" of the Roman empire and "societies with slaves" of the post-Roman kingdoms.<sup>2</sup> This changing role of the unfree in the west is one of the key questions in the transformation of the Roman world and the fall of the empire.<sup>3</sup> In the Roman slave society, the centrality of slavery to material production, to legal order, to social rules for sexuality, violence, and honor, was evident in the life of every

person, rich or poor, urban or rural, free or unfree.<sup>4</sup> In the early Middle Ages, neither elites nor non-elites saw slavery as essential to the economic, legal, or social functioning of society. And yet, the early medieval world was filled with the unfree. Called *servi*, *ancillae*, and *mancipia*, they originated as prisoners of war, foreigners picked up by slave-traders, people who could not pay debts, children whose parents sold them into slavery, as well as the traditional chattel slave born into servitude. The sources often use the words *pueri* or *puellae* to describe servants of either unfree or free legal status. Unfreedom has been described as a continuum or a hierarchy from early medieval legal sources, rather than a binary distinction between freedom and slavery.<sup>5</sup>

The difficulty of imagining a society without slaves was manifest in writings of late antique and early medieval authors; patristic authors such as Augustine and others were concerned with ensuring the stability of society in a turbulent post-imperial period, beginning with household stability that included slavery. Christian thinkers, from Paul of Tarsus onwards, dealt with the moral questions of slavery and freedom. The cultural context of unfreedom in the Mediterranean and Europe played a significant role in the interpretation of Scripture.<sup>6</sup> From hagiographical sources detailing the lives of holy men and women, the figure of the saint as the *servus dei* has long been translated as the servant of God. However, the word *servus* in these sources is not simply a servant, but a slave and unfree person, in service to his or her master. The use of the epithet *servus dei* for a holy man was shocking because his power and status were in absolute opposition to earthly slavery, not similar to it.<sup>7</sup>

A simple focus on the economic duties and legal rights obscures the way that unfreedom defined social relationships between different members of society. Certain people were dependent upon others in their societies, and this dependency implied a degree of unfreedom. However, in a political autocracy or oligarchy, most members of a society were dependent (and thus unfree) in some way or another.<sup>8</sup> In medieval societies, servitude had many meanings and shades of gray. Since nearly the whole population would have been legally dependent upon some other party, binary social dichotomies between free and slave are at best irrelevant and at worst actively hinder our understanding of the medieval conception of unfreedom. Medieval writers amalgamated free and unfree, slaves and serfs, dependents and peasants into a conceptual melting pot that represented all those with servile status.<sup>9</sup>

The social unfreedom of the slave was the dependency on his/her master, and in that dependency there was a relationship. A social model of slavery does not define slaves by how they were acquired nor how their labor was used, but rather by the social relationship that status produced.<sup>10</sup> Although literal or figurative exile from kin groups was a function of unfreedom, it also produced new fictive kin relationships, such as slaves' incorporation into the late Roman *familia*, or household. This might also include the extra-legal marriages contracted by the unfree in late antiquity, *contubernia*.<sup>11</sup> Sometimes the nuclear families that slaves formed while in servitude were recognized as a part of natural, though not civil, law. However, it was rare for them

to be recognized in a larger biological kin group. Instead, early medieval slavery created new fictive kin ties between the unfree and their owners, extending their owners' networks through patronage and the authority of the elite *paterfamilias*. Like other bonds of medieval fictive kinship, such as fosterage or godparent-hood, slavery formed links between people, albeit in a hierarchal and one-sided socio-economic system rather than in one of mutual benefit. Within the broad category of early medieval unfreedom with its many gradations of servitude, scholars have identified a distinction between three main categories of unfreedom: imprisonment (criminals, including debt slaves), captivity (especially prisoners-of-war and hostages), and hereditary chattel slavery. While these categories do overlap, there was a line drawn by early medieval people themselves between criminals and other unfree people.

### **Slavery and movement in the early medieval world**

Unfree people played a role in the economy beyond their production, as they were a major trade item between northern Europe and the Mediterranean.<sup>12</sup> Humans who were bought, sold, and moved within the labor market served the practical function of being essential to agricultural and other forms of production. They were also human beings who were vectors of exchange beyond their economic value, as they were communicators and exchangers themselves. Enslavement, whether as punishment, captivity, or as a hereditary state nearly always involved a changing of geographical locations and a severing of previous social ties and the fostering of new ones. The varieties of unfreedom (and the resistance strategies used towards it) produced different kinds of social relationships. These social relationships were ties of dependence, and in terms of travel, they shaped the networks through which unfree people moved in the geographical world. Independence, whether economic or social, is not a prerequisite for travel. The lack of formal legal protections does not mean that these unfree people were immobile or uninvolved in the diversity of travel in the early medieval period. It does mean though that often these unfree people were subjected to involuntary travel, as captives and hostages, as domestic and agricultural laborers, or as prisoners and exiles. These unfree travelers appear in early medieval religious and hagiographical sources, but they are elusive. There are some whose unfree status is a defining part of their sanctity and who travel due to that unfreedom. While unfree travelers, like female travelers, often lack the agency shown by free male religious travelers, this does not mean that they were not on the move. Travel without agency might mean being sent places by one's master the way a slave might be, but it can also include being given permission to travel on one's own on business, for trade, for diplomatic or political reasons, or in the entourage of some other more powerful traveler. Unfree people also went on mission, pilgrimage, and other forms of religious travel with members of clergy. These clergy, though legally free and with civil protections, were also bound in ties of dependence to the church and its hierarchy, and their travel and movement

might be circumscribed or limited by abbots or bishops. Likewise, if unfreedom was a part of one's social status, then travel could be part of the resistance strategies of unfree persons. The exhortations of masters that the unfree were forbidden from wandering or that ambulatory slaves were rebellious ones supported this notion that travel, even if permitted, was perceived as dangerous to the social relationships that governed the free and unfree. Gregory of Tours gave the example of a servant ("*puer*") from Paris whom Gregory made sure to emphasize was of free birth ("*ingenuus genere*"). This servant was cured at the tomb of St. Martin while at Tours on pilgrimage. However, while there, the local count:

heard that he was a skilled worker and began to slander him, saying, "You are a fugitive from your masters, you are no longer allowed to go to different places." And he ordered him to be chained and imprisoned in his house.<sup>13</sup>

While St. Martin miraculously freed the illegally enslaved free man, the lines between the free and unfree were blurred, especially when a person traveled outside of his or her locality or kin group, without people to vouch for one's legal status. Religious travel like pilgrimage represented an opportunity for changes in social status, connecting the venerator to the power of the saint, but also increasing a person's vulnerability to unscrupulous elites or slavers.

While the northern slave trade has been notoriously difficult to study, material culture sheds light on the movement of unfree people through a study of the larger contours of trade and the migration of peoples. In late antiquity, iron slave shackles are found in both urban and rural environments, in Roman cities and on Roman farms, indicating the ubiquity of domestic and agricultural slaves. However, iron shackles from the early medieval period are much rarer and demonstrated multiple kinds of unfreedom rather than simply chattel slavery.<sup>14</sup> For instance, one decorated collar from Lagore Crannog in Ireland was likely used for elite hostages rather than for chattel slaves.<sup>15</sup> In the Carolingian era, a few iron shackles were found in ports from which slavers shipped the Slavic, Saxon, and other slaves to the Islamic markets of the east.<sup>16</sup> A better measure of the trade and movement of slaves is found in coin and hacksilver hoards in Ireland, Scandinavia, and eastern Europe. While silver itself is not a measure of the slave trade, it was an indicator of a new influx of wealth in regions with no pre-existing silver economy, explained through a trade in human beings.<sup>17</sup> Other archaeological indicators of the early medieval slave trade have been sought in fortified sites that might have been holding pens near major travel routes or unusual burials that marked a lower status. However, none of these lines of inquiry has been entirely fruitful and the movement of unfree peoples is still largely invisible in material culture. For instance, while there have been extensive excavations at the Scandinavian *wic* at Birka, Sweden, the roles that slavery and Christianization played in transforming the site into a proto-urban mercantile center

are still being uncovered.<sup>18</sup> It was the site of one of the earliest missions to the Vikings by Anskar, bishop of Hamburg-Bremen in the 830s. While Anskar's hagiographer and episcopal successor, Rimbert, made it clear that the saint intended to travel to Birka to convert the pagan Scandinavians, in fact when he arrived the primary initial audience for his preaching was Christian slaves, as "they were holding many enslaved Christians among them, who were glad that they could finally participate in the divine mysteries."<sup>19</sup> While a few locals did convert, Anskar's encounter with Christian slaves in the trading port points to the significance of this invisible trade at the commercial site. From material culture, there is another indication of the ubiquity of non-local populations at Birka; perhaps up to one-half of the graves there contain the remains of non-Scandinavian people, based on isotope analysis.<sup>20</sup> As a trading emporium, many free and unfree non-local people would have come through the *wic*, and a significant number of the possibly 4,000–5,000 sets of human remains on the island could be travelers, migrants, and slaves. Also unusual is that at Birka, there is a significantly higher number of female graves. Women's graves outnumber men's graves, which is not the case in the rest of early medieval Scandinavia.<sup>21</sup> One possible reason for this is the relatively high number of enslaved foreign Christians present particularly at Birka. Christianity forbade infanticide, a common practice in pagan Viking society, perhaps leading to more females.

In general, trade of any kind is a reliable indicator for potential slave-trading practices and locations, as slave-trading was nearly always a part of economic exchange in the early medieval period.<sup>22</sup> Additionally, a study of travel and transportation routes, which carried far more than just the objects that have survived the vagaries of time, is also a key to understanding the movement of unfree people. Religious travelers, like slaves, blended into the larger milieu of people on the move in the early medieval period. It should not surprise us that diversity was the rule rather than the exception for early medieval travelers of all statuses and motivations.

One traveler whose saint's lives demonstrate multiple motivations for unfree travel are the two surviving eighth-century lives of Richarius. He traveled from his home in Neustria to Britain to preach and redeem captive slaves, inspired by two foreign priests who had made the reverse journey across the Channel and come to Francia from Wales. Richarius traveled to England preaching the Gospel and freeing slaves and captives. According to the first anonymous life, "he kept no one over whom he had power in servitude."<sup>23</sup> Richarius sent back many people who had formerly been in bondage from Britain to Francia, some of whom became monks at his foundation of Centula (now St-Riquier). This concern for preaching and freeing captives illuminated the reality of cross-Channel maritime traffic in the eighth century, as England and the Continental coast evoked commerce in the minds of the hagiographical audience.<sup>24</sup> This was even more pointed in the reworked *Life of Richarius* produced by Alcuin and commissioned by his friend Angilbert, abbot of St-Riquier ca. 794. Alcuin narrates the same stories of the saint, but

includes extensive commercial similes and comparisons. In his extended metaphor, Alcuin used biblical parables to help navigate this balance between holiness and prosperity, writing that Richarius, “as a good steward of the Lord, he tried to multiply the two talents – love of God and neighbor – to go to meet his Lord, bringing him with interest the outcome of his work and hear the cheerful voice.”<sup>25</sup> Besides using the parable of the talents, Alcuin also compared Richarius’ ministry to a farmer clearing weeds.<sup>26</sup> Alcuin’s text attempted to relate the life of the saint to the experiences of his current audience, not just monks and churchmen, but also the laymen who might have heard this prose life that might have been read to the Christian community on the saint’s feast day. As a hagiographer, he chose metaphors that spoke to his audience’s own experiences and a lay audience on the coast of Neustria would have certainly included farmers and merchants. These merchants exchanged and sold their goods, which included slaves being exported from Britain through Francia. While these merchants did not only trade in slaves, as there were many ordinary transactions needed to resupply their ships, as well as exchange goods that are traceable in the archaeological record, the emphasis on slavery and the manumission of slaves by a religious traveler points to the ongoing concern of the movement of unfree peoples across early medieval Europe, especially across the English Channel.

Another group that is largely invisible in early medieval sources appears often in early medieval discussions of slavery and movement in religious texts: children. Modern anthropological and psychological research has investigated the profound ways that children shape their own migrant experiences through language acquisition and social integration in new communities, acting as mediators of cultural interactions.<sup>27</sup> However, medieval migrant children are rarely afforded this varied and complex inner life, despite the textual sources that demonstrate that many children were a part of early medieval migrations of unfree people, often with religious and cultural associations. For instance, in Alcuin’s late eighth-century *Life of Willibrord*, he described how the saint found Frisian boats from the Rhine delta region to take him into Denmark when his initial mission to the Frisian king Radbod had failed. Alcuin described the end of Willibrord’s mission to the Danes:

When he encountered people who persisted in their local customs, devoted to idol worship, and having no hope for a better life, he took thirty slave boys [*pueri*] from that territory and hurried to return to the chosen people of the kingdom of the Franks. On that journey, he instructed the boys in religion and baptized them in the font of life, so that he would not suffer a loss [*damnum*] on them because of the danger of the long sea voyage or from the ambushes of the wild inhabitants of that land. He wished to prevent the cunning of the devil and defend the souls gained through the sacraments of the Lord.<sup>28</sup>

The word used for the young slaves is “*pueri*”, which could mean either free or unfree servants. However, the word *damnum*, here translated as loss, often implied a financial loss or legal penalty, used for instance in the Roman *Lex Aquilia* when referring to losses for injured slaves or beasts of burden.<sup>29</sup> The loss Willibrord is worried about was not simply financial, but rather the loss of souls to God if the slave boys died unbaptized. Importing pagan slave children by a missionary saint was both a practical and religious act. In the first place, Willibrord, though unable to convert either the Frisians or the Danes, was nonetheless able to baptize the thirty pagan boys he was taking to Francia. Secondly, these slaves were educated in Christian teaching and likely intended to serve as translators and servants on future missions to their former homelands. Children played important roles in the acculturation process and monasteries served as an ethnic and linguistic melting pot, with children being central to new religious developments through migration.<sup>30</sup> Along with the elite alliances with the church made through oblation, children, whether free or unfree, might be donated to the church.<sup>31</sup>

Other traveling saints bought slave children and redeemed captives intended for service in their monastic houses and missions. Part of the evangelization strategy of Amandus (584–675) was to “redeem many captives [and] wash them in sacred baptism and exhort them to persist in good works.”<sup>32</sup> Indeed, Amandus’ monastery at Elnone (now St-Amand-les-Eaux) was staffed with brethren who were former slaves.

If he found captives or slave boys from across the sea, he bought them for a price, baptizing them and had them taught to read. Once they had been freed, he sent them to different churches. We have heard that some of them later became bishops, priests, or distinguished abbots.<sup>33</sup>

Amandus had a policy of buying unfree children in order to convert, educate, and free them, and then subsequently use them in further spreading the Christian message. These unfree children were part of the economic exchange of human beings across early medieval Europe, but missionaries bought them for the work of conversion and Christian religious travel. As Amandus’ hagiographer put it, his “brethren suffered many things with him in different regions for the name of Christ. Many of these brethren we have seen later become abbots or leading men.”<sup>34</sup> These monks of Elnone were Amandus’ long-time companions in his religious wandering and missionary efforts. The repetition of the same language regarding Amandus’ traveling monastic brethren and those whom he freed as children give the impression that some of these men were one and the same. Unfreedom was an important part of religious migration, as it allowed for acculturation and conversion. These processes occurred for those unfree children whom the saints bought and made part of their communities. However, it also occurred for those people whom those unfree children, when grown, might convert in turn, using the



language and culture of their birth to transform religious landscapes on the margins of the Frankish territories.

### Hereditary chattel slavery and religious movement

During the course of the early medieval period, there was a transformation between Roman-style chattel slavery and the diversity and multiplicity of the practices of unfree labor in Francia. The people identified as *servi* in the eighth- and ninth-century polyptychs are not slaves in the same way that the Romans practiced slavery. Instead of seeing it as a long evolution from ancient slavery to medieval feudalism, it is more accurately viewed as early medieval people using the vocabulary and social architecture of the Roman past in new ways that had nothing to do with the world of the late empire.<sup>35</sup> When *servi* appear in the sources of the eighth and ninth centuries, they are not chattel slaves, but economic dependents, perhaps even serfs, poor but living within local kinship groups and communities, connected with natal kin and connected socially to both their non-elite equals and their elite lords. Indeed, the antique Latin term of *servi* was confusing enough that a new word was imported for those who were chattel slaves and bound for the empires of Islam: *sclavus*, for their Slavic language and origin. This transition, taking place slowly and piecemeal throughout the seventh century, can be seen in two authors from either side of the divide: the sixth-century narratives of Gregory of Tours and the Carolingian miracle collection of Saint Goar, written by Wandalbert of Prüm ca. 839.

The twin burdens of holiness and unfreedom were part of the landscape of early medieval Francia. While we have no direct evidence that Gregory of Tours owned slaves himself, he was from a leading family of the Gallo-Roman province of Aquitania Prima. Gregory's fellow priest Simon owned a slave named Veranus, whom he manumitted to join the monastic community at Tours.<sup>36</sup> Gregory as bishop of Tours, from an elite family during a period of increasing wealth of the Frankish church, likely owned slaves as well. One of the most notable stories of slavery and religious travel is in his *Life of the Fathers* regarding Portianus.<sup>37</sup> Portianus was owned by a barbarian master in Auvergne, but wished to escape and join a local monastery. Portianus fled from his master's house to the monastery several times; each time his owner came to bring him back. The barbarian master insulted the abbot, accusing him of enticing his slave away from his service. In a reversal of roles between abbot and monk, the abbot gave Portianus a measure of agency, asking him what he wished to do. Portianus said that the abbot should "obtain a pardon" for him as a fugitive slave and return him to his master. The pardon was clearly legal recourse,<sup>38</sup> as the abbot had no real legal power to keep the would-be monk.<sup>39</sup> This was not a long-distance travel – all of this was occurring in the local Auvergne region, and distance does not seem to have been the issue. Instead, Portianus resisted traditional servitude by moving between service to an earthly lord and the heavenly father. He continued his

movement back and forth between his master's house and the monastery, between unfreedom and freedom. When his master became blind, in desperation he begged the abbot to pray for him and accept Portianus into the monastery, in hope of a miracle. The abbot asked Portianus to heal his now former master by placing his hands on the eyes of the owner. And Portianus refused. He was eventually cajoled into making the sign of the cross over his master's eyes, and in the first of three miracles the saint performed, the slave owner's eyesight was restored.

Gregory's preface in the chapter on Portianus declared that "frequently He renders free those who are in servitude, and those who are free He renders glorious, as the Psalmist said, 'He raises up the poor out of that suit and lifts the needy out of the dunghill...'"<sup>40</sup> Servitude in Gregory's mind was a condition that could be remedied by God, though the images from the Psalms of slaves and the poor in the dunghill is evocative of the literal and figurative state of the poor, especially in the mind of a wealthy aristocrat like Gregory, steeped in the imagery of the Psalms. God's ability to make this innate virtue and freedom manifest in his chosen saints is part of the narrative of Portianus. Portianus was "saved from the burden of worldly toil" in slavery to a barbarian and also "ennobled with great virtues" through his miracle-working and asceticism. Last but not least, Portianus was "placed among the choirs of angels from which that earthly master has been excluded."<sup>41</sup> Still, in the works of Gregory, servitude itself was not necessarily the problem, but the enslavement of Christians like Portianus to barbarians and pagans was untenable. Despite the earthly hierarchy of unfreedom, the subjection of a holy man like Portianus to a pagan must be subverted by God himself, first through divine punishment of the slave master in blindness, and then in divine mercy for that same master in holy deeds of the *servus dei*, whose only true master was God.

Slavery was an integral part not just of lay pagan households in early medieval Francia, but also in the households of churchmen and lay Christians. The fraught role among these culturally similar but religiously distinct entities is epitomized in a story that Gregory of Tours related in the *Histories*. A young man named Attalus, described as nephew, perhaps grandson of Bishop Gregory of Langres, Gregory of Tours' great-grandfather, was brought to Trier (along with other aristocratic hostages) as a part of an exchange between the Merovingian kings Childebert I and Theudebert I ca. 532.<sup>42</sup> When the peace was broken, those hostages were made slaves. Many escaped and made their way back to the native lands and kin groups, but some could not. Attalus was kept in slavery and sold to a pagan barbarian aristocrat near Trier, becoming his keeper of horses. Bishop Gregory of Langres failed to ransom Attalus from the barbarian using the appropriate channels, so he sent his kitchen slave, a man named Leo, to Trier to attempt to recover the boy by sneaking him away. When that plan also failed, Leo contracted with a "certain man" in Trier – a slaver of some sort – to have himself re-sold into slavery as a kitchen slave at the house of the barbarian

holding Attalus in order to infiltrate the household. Leo's deal with the slaver was that he might keep his purchase price (twelve gold pieces) if he didn't ask questions.

Leo worked in the household for a year, gaining their trust despite that fact that everyone knew that he was a foreigner from the same territory as Attalus. Eventually, the two slaves, the high-born, captive slave Attalus and the low-born chattel slave Leo, escaped on the very horses that Attalus had been entrusted to care for, fleeing across the countryside for four days without food. They swam across the Moselle River, traversed Champagne while pursued by their former master, and finally sheltered at Reims. In Reims, they hid for two nights with a priest named Paulellus, who was an old friend of Gregory of Langres, avoiding the pursuit of their master, before continuing south to Gregory's episcopal see at Langres. Back at Langres, Gregory rejoiced over his kinsman Attalus' return. In exchange for Leo's extraordinary service, Gregory "set Leo free from the yoke of slavery with all his family, and gave him land of his own, on which he lived a free man with his wife and children all the days of his life."<sup>43</sup>

This story presumes no judgment upon the institution of slavery as such; Leo is an unfree person in service to Gregory of Langres while Attalus was a hostage whose negotiation failed and was enslaved. But Leo's complete independence and agency in mobility – he sold himself via a slave-trader intermediary to a second master as part of an undercover operation 200 miles from home – demonstrates differing roles that unfreedom can play in the stories of early medieval travelers. The conclusion of the story sees Leo returned to his original master's service so that he and his kin might become free people, and that he himself became a landowner, moving his wife, children, and presumably descendants from unfree to free status. In this, he built upon the familial kinship networks with his nuclear family and fictive kinship networks of patronage with the grateful elite bishop, Gregory of Langres, which he already had in place in Burgundy. With these networks of obligation and dependence, we can see why, when Leo was mobile and independent in Trier, he did not simply take this freedom to never return to Langres. Leo was a trusted, long-time member of Gregory of Langres' *familia* [household]; it is unlikely that this same amount of mobility would have been given to an unfree person without those networks of both kinship and patronage. Leo's journey also demonstrates how the risks of travel, of becoming a fugitive slave from the pagan aristocrat of Trier, might be worth it if Leo's deeds provided a means to social mobility through patronage that led to a permanent increase in both his own and his entire kinship networks' social and economic status.

There are scattered mentions of slaves traveling with their clergymen-owners in seventh-century hagiography from the Continent. For instance, an Anglo-Saxon, Bertuin of Malonne (d. 698), spent two years in Rome and was consecrated, then going to Namur (now Belgium) to found a monastery. On his travels the ascetic Bertuin "retained nothing except canonical books, relics of the saints, and boys, who were in his service."<sup>44</sup> Likewise, when another

saint, Landibert of Maastricht (636–705) went traveling, “no more than two boys remained in his service.”<sup>45</sup> While there were unfree people in many hagiographical narratives, the holiness and asceticism of these figures demanded that they leave behind their possessions and worldly comforts, which for elites, included the service of their slaves. While not directly critical of the moral practice of slavery, the seventh century saints’ lives liken slaveholding to cupidity. Holy men were supposed to give up their possessions, which included those they hold in bondage. This moral and ascetic dimension of elite slaveholding reveals the changing nature of both unfreedom and the social context surrounding the practice of owing the labor of others. By the seventh century, slaves were no longer an essential part of the economy, but an elite vice that indicated their indolence and avarice.

In contrast to the relative abundance of unfree peoples in hagiographical narratives in the sixth and early seventh century, in the Carolingian era there are very few narratives that reference slavery in elite households, royal palaces, or monastic settings. However, there are many references to unfree people in Carolingian charters; in total, 651 unfree people have been identified in the extant charters from 768 to 814.<sup>46</sup> In Gregory’s miracle collections, the unfree had frequently been the recipients of miracles from the saints or their relics; however, Carolingian miracle stories generally feature poor people undifferentiated by legal status.<sup>47</sup> One exception are the *Miracles of Saint Goar*, which took place at the saint’s shrine on the Rhine Gorge, an important stopping place for travelers along the river when navigating the fast-moving currents. Two miracles involved Frisian merchants navigating upstream with their slaves. In the first, one slave and his master stayed on the boat, while at least three others towed the craft.<sup>48</sup> These slaves might have been sold off at the end of the journey, rather than having the merchants feed them for the easy return trip after selling their goods.<sup>49</sup> Some of these slaves might have been Christians; one slave escaped from a merchant’s ship and took refuge in the shrine of Saint Goar. The merchant, utterly incensed by the fugitive slave’s disobedience and threats, dragged him out of the shrine and murdered him. The hagiographer had confirmation of this event from a fellow monk who had witnessed it, and expressed approval that the murderous slave owner died not long afterwards to be tortured in hell for his crime.<sup>50</sup> In this case, there was no particular miracle from the saint, but rather God’s judgement visited upon the slave owner. It is unclear whether the crime of murder or the violation of the sanctuary were the highest crime; undoubtedly it was both. The slave, who was dragged unwilling from the altar and murdered on the steps (not inside) the church, was called an *augmentum* by the author, a word sometimes used to reference ritual sacrifice in a pagan Roman context, and the Eucharistic sacrifice in the medieval one.<sup>51</sup> The slave, traveling along the Rhine with a cruel master, sought the refuge of the saint’s shrine, embodying the multivalent nature of travel in the early medieval period. While the slave had no control over his movement, nor did he initially have a religious motivation for travel, exigent circumstances made him visit the church to solicit

the aid of God and the saint in escaping from unfreedom, unsuccessful though the attempt was in the end. This transition in the nature of unfreedom and the movement of unfree people took place slowly and piecemeal throughout the seventh century, a gradual transformation of the Roman world.

### The movement of captives and hostages

Early medieval unfreedom often stemmed from captivity; prisoners-of-war, hostages, and captured people were taken as slaves regularly as a part of raiding, warfare, and other conflicts. These people often moved around and were caught up in the local or regional networks of exchange. For instance, Bede (672–735) discusses how an injured high-born prisoner-of-war lied to his captors, saying he was a poor, married peasant to avoid execution. To get him to reveal his origin, his elite captor promised not to execute him, but his captors sold him to a Frisian slave trader in London rather than allowing him to be ransomed.<sup>52</sup> According to Bede, because of the power of prayer, the Frisian slaver was unable to keep him in chains and sell him, and so allowed the elite slave be ransomed by the king of Kent.

Non-elite people were enslaved as part of both economic and military endeavors. In the sixth century, conflict between the Franks and the Visigoths often resulted in the taking of prisoners or slaves. For instance, Vivianus was bishop of Saintes, a city situated near the Aquitainian coast between Nantes and Bordeaux. After his election as bishop, Vivianus traveled to the court of the Gothic king of Toulouse, Theodoric II, (r. 456–66) in order to free citizens of the city who had been carried off into slavery by the Goths. The Goths had imposed an unbearable order (*intolerabilis iniunctio*) upon the citizens of Saintes, confiscating the people's wealth and resources, and selling them into slavery.<sup>53</sup> The author was quick to note that the Goths did not just take the riches from ordinary people, but they stole the wealth of the nobles and leading men, causing impoverishment and enslavement of both *mediocres* and *nobiles*. Some Goths, seeking to acquire the land, imprisoned or carried off citizens of Saintes to Toulouse. Vivianus, unwilling for members of his flock to be imprisoned or forced to migrate without their bishop, traveled to Toulouse to speak on their behalf. This episode elucidates an important moment of both continuity with the Roman way of life and the dramatic changes in politics that shaped the sixth century. The Goths sought to consolidate power by seizing property and persons and subjecting them to legal proceedings that might likely end in death. This property seizure seems to have been separate from the allotments given out to the barbarians by the imperial government as enticements to settle. In this case, while secular Roman institutions could no longer protect people, the same men, Gallo-Roman aristocrats, now in the guise of Christian bishops, still managed to exercise both patronage and protection for those under them.

Vivianus visited Theuderic's Gothic Arian court to redeem his flock who had been enslaved by debt and financial hardship. In response to the saint's prayers, God sent Theuderic a terrifying vision in the night, prompting him to seek Vivianus' forgiveness. The saint granted it in return for the freedom of the captive citizens of Saintes and they all departed Toulouse with their previous wealth and status intact.<sup>54</sup> Penal or debt servitude, and in the hagiographical sources, miraculous freeings from that state, were distinct because they stemmed from a social milieu that involved communities' need for social control, punishment, and peace keeping. When unfreedom was used as a punishment by communities for crimes, unpaid debts, or property seizure, this social death was not just a by-product of the creation of unfree labor, but rather communities dealing with problematic individuals.<sup>55</sup> However, slave capture (on battlefields and elsewhere) and slave sale in markets (of both captives and hereditary chattel slaves) were one-to-one events that did not involve community policing, unlike penal servitude.

Hostages sold off as slaves were common across the early medieval world, including in Ireland. One Irish saint Findan had his saint's life written at his eventual monastery at Rheinau (modern-day Switzerland) in the mid-ninth century. Findan experienced the enslavement of both his sister and himself when he tried to ransom her from Scandinavian raiders.<sup>56</sup> Findan's sister was taken captive along with other women, presumably to be sold as sex slaves. As the children of a local chieftain, their father gave Findan money with instructions to take a group of followers, as well as an interpreter, to ransom his sister. During the mission, a different party of Vikings waylaid the party, imprisoning Findan on one of their ships. After discussing it, the Viking raiders agreed (quite in their own self-interest) to free Findan and refrain from taking hostage any people coming to them to ransom others!

Slavery was not as simple as captivity, or potentially ransom, if one was an elite hostage. The Viking slave raids were used by different Irish kinship groups to enslave rival groups and take power. In Findan's case, his father became embroiled in a blood feud with a rival chieftain; that chieftain attacked their home, killing both Findan's father and brother. Findan escaped and received recompense for the death of his kin, but his enemies decided to trap him and sell him into slavery, rather than risk future feuding.

They made their plans and prepared a banquet for Findan in a place near the sea. Findan was invited, the Northmen arrived and seized him from the midst of the guests, as they had contracted with his enemies to do, bound him in the closest bonds and carried him off. His Northman captor did not then intend to return home and, as was customary, sold him to another, who soon sold him to a third party and he again to a fourth. The latter, wishing to visit his own land again, gathered his followers and led Findan, among others, into captivity.<sup>57</sup>

He ended up escaping during a fight among his captors, spending three days alone on an uninhabited island before being rescued by dolphins sent by God to aid him. Unable to return home, Findan stayed two years with the local bishop of the region (presumably in western Scotland.) At that point, Findan transformed his exile and enslavement into a pilgrimage, visiting the tomb of St. Martin at Tours, as well as traveling through Alamannia and Lombardy before visiting Rome. In Rome, a local monk from Alamannia asked Findan to join the monastic community at Rheinau, where he stayed as a monk and an eventual recluse, performing acts of greater and greater asceticism and abstinence.

Findan's saint's life, like most hagiography connected with Ireland in the eighth and ninth centuries, referenced the holiness of St. Patrick of Armagh (385–461). The life and travel of Patrick were models for many hagiographers. As a saint, his travel was definitively shaped by his unfree status. Two accounts of Patrick's life were written by Irish churchmen in the second half of the seventh century, Muirchú and Tírechán. Despite the similarity in the date of their composition, the significant variations between these saint's lives illuminate the different emphases of the authors and their audiences.<sup>58</sup> The two saint's lives were not based on one another; they were separate compositions developed independently from a common tradition, including Patrick's autobiographical work, the *Confessio*.<sup>59</sup> While both authors sought to promote the interests of the see of Armagh, their immediate purposes for writing were different. Muirchú's work was structured as a biography and sought to consolidate the stories of Patrick into a clear narrative. In contrast, Tírechán's account was an itinerary of Patrick's journeys throughout Ireland rather than a traditional saint's life. His purpose was to list what territories and precedence the bishopric of Armagh had claimed in Ireland (not what they actually possessed) in the late seventh century.<sup>60</sup>

In both the saint's lives of Patrick, the saint's surrender of control over himself was a humbling experience that brought him closer to God. Patrick's years as a slave in Ireland were a major feature of his holiness. Born in Britain, both his *Confessio* and the saint's life by Muirchú narrated how Patrick was captured at sixteen and taken to Ireland, the "island of barbarians."<sup>61</sup> Within the narrative of Patrick's life, slavery and forced exile in a foreign land were cultural and religious phenomena that inspired a spiritual transformation that motivated him to return to Ireland as a missionary, a voluntary exile. This counterpoint between voluntary and involuntary travel is a recurring theme in Patrick's life.<sup>62</sup> In his own *Confessio*, Patrick described the spiritual enlightenment that his time as slave among the pagans brought him. Slavery was an aspect of the religious and cultural phenomenon of global connectivity, not just an economic example of connections between people and places. For the audience of these hagiographical texts, unfreedom was part of their conception of how society functioned.<sup>63</sup> The gradations of status and social obligation show a mindset in which connectivity between people and places could be a function of forced commitments. Connections could also be

voluntary actions that were dependent not just on economic necessity but cultural context.

For Patrick, exile in a foreign land as a slave was a not just a question of economics, but also a cultural phenomenon that provided both a spiritual transformation and the motivation to return to the place as a missionary. According to his own words and those of his biographers, Patrick's experience as a slave, a member of the unfree underclass subjected to pagans, transformed his soul. He learned submission, giving unto God what was his, and to Caesar what was owed as well, because "until then [Patrick's enslavement] he had not known the true God, but now the spirit burned in him."<sup>64</sup> Patrick's said in the *Confessio* that he felt he deserved his captivity for his neglect of God, and that "God revealed his being to us through his anger: He scattered us among foreign peoples, even to the end of earth, where, I appropriately have my own small existence among strangers."<sup>65</sup> Patrick's existence among strangers, first as a slave to men, and then as a *servus dei*, was an essential element of his holiness. He worked in the world on behalf of God, but since he was a traveler and away from his homeland forever, he could never be of the world; he belonged only to God and not to any tribe or people.

When Patrick escaped from slavery, all three accounts describe the spirit or angel who told Patrick that a ship was ready to take him to Britain. While Tírechán briefly repeated Patrick's own story, Muirchú gave a far more detailed account of the journey from Ireland that precisely mirrored the story Patrick told in the *Confessio*, but with some different emphases. Muirchú said that Patrick "sailed to Britain in the ship that was awaiting him, with low-born pagan barbarians who worshipped many false gods."<sup>66</sup> Their journey was composed of explicitly biblical parallels, including three days and nights at sea (like Jonas) as well as a journey through a wasteland for twenty-eight days (like Moses) in which Patrick and the pagans all nearly starved to death. After Patrick prayed for sustenance, the group found a herd of pigs to slaughter, as well as wild honey, neither of which Patrick ate, as the food was intended as sacrifice to the pagans' gods.<sup>67</sup> In contrast to Muirchú's description of the sailors as ignorant pagans, Patrick himself described them as heathen, but still willing to bind themselves in friendship to him when preparing for the journey. Patrick was returning to Britain and ending his captivity and forced exile. He was not yet interested in converting the pagans, but he still refused to swear an oath using pagan practices. He was at their mercy in trying to escape Ireland, and in his own narrative they were sympathetic characters. The Patrick's personal account of leaving Ireland in the *Confessio*, only to find himself wandering in Britain, was full of mysticism. Muirchú told the same stories in a straightforward fashion, pointing out the biblical parallels of course, but without the embellishments.

After Patrick's Irish servitude and subsequent return to Britain, Muirchú said that Patrick's family begged him never to leave again. Both seventh-century *vitae* (but not the *Confessio*) said that he abandoned his family and



homeland, this time purposefully and voluntarily, to go to Gaul on a spiritual and physical journey. Tírechán described Patrick's journey on the Continent saying:

For a further seven years he walked and traveled by water, through all of Gaul and all Italy, and in the islands of the Tyrrhenian Sea [off the west coast of Italy] as he said himself in describing his work. Bishop Ultán has told me that he spent thirty years on one of these islands which is called Aralensis.<sup>68</sup>

Aralensis was the island of the monastery Lérins, near Cannes.<sup>69</sup> Tírechán displayed geographical knowledge of this important hermitage in the Mediterranean, an island off the coast of southern France that was similar to the monastic islands of Ireland and northern Britain, inhabited only by monks intent on retreating from the world. Muirchú told the same story and included additional material such as a trip to Rome to visit the pope and an extended narrative about Patrick's relationship with Germanus of Auxerre.<sup>70</sup>

This voluntary exile in Gaul was a short section in each of these accounts, with different emphases that show each author's own preoccupations. In Patrick's own *Confessio*, he highlighted the problems he had with his superiors as a reason for seeking exile, without mentioning Gaul. In contrast, Tírechán focused on the act of wandering and then seeking solitude on a distant island in the Mediterranean, a very different vocation from Patrick as a missionary in Ireland. Muirchú was far more interested in name-dropping other significant Gallic figures such as Germanus of Auxerre and connecting Patrick to a larger tradition of Continental sanctity. The exclusion of Continental wandering in the fifth-century autobiographical account makes it likely that there was no factual basis for Patrick's travel to the Continent.<sup>71</sup> However, accounts by both Tírechán and Muirchú include a non-insular interlude, demonstrating that this long-distance travel had become a necessary indicator of holiness in the seventh century. Patrick's traversal of the horizontal distance beyond Ireland and Britain echoed his crossing of the vertical distance between humanity and God. The insertion of this kind of connectivity in the seventh-century saint's lives demonstrates the changes over time occurring within the landscape of religious travel and connectivity.

The Continental travel episodes were brief in the saint's lives by both Tírechán and Muirchú. However, Patrick is most famous as a missionary traveler to Ireland, and in my view, this subsequent travel to Ireland as an evangelist was a direct result of his early enslavement in that land. Patrick's voluntary return to the place of his forced exile represented one aspect of the cultural impact of travel. In the saint's lives, Patrick's spiritual transformation gave him the will to return to Ireland on God's behalf, but it was the travels of men, specifically merchants and slave-traders that gave him the opportunity to do so. When Patrick arrived in Ireland in a small boat, his first act was to return to the territory of his former master so that he might redeem himself

from slavery, as technically he was a runaway slave. He paid his former master Miliucc twice the cost of his redemption, “an earthly price and a heavenly one” according to Muirchú.<sup>72</sup> Patrick hid his little boat and headed inland, encountering Dichu, a slave who was herding pigs. This slave became Patrick’s first convert; Muirchú said that “when he [Dichu] saw the face of St. Patrick, the Lord changed his mind for the better, and Patrick preached the faith to him.”<sup>73</sup> Dichu’s spiritual transformation echoed Patrick’s own conversion as a slave in Ireland, connecting him not just with Patrick as an individual but also with the long tradition of Christianity in the places of Patrick’s origin and his own journeys. Exile, whether voluntary or forced, was an integral part of cross-cultural exchange between Ireland and the outside world in the early Middle Ages.

Muirchú framed Patrick’s missionary expedition as a return voyage, with the saint impelled by nostalgia and his honor to revisit the home of his youth and there begin his work. After Dichu’s conversion, Patrick continued to his old home to try to convert his former master. Patrick returned to break their relationship formally and to reestablish ties with Miliucc by saving his former master’s soul. Miliucc would be immeasurably indebted to his former slave for his conversion, becoming Patrick’s spiritual subordinate, a complete reversal of roles. Rather than allowing this dramatic reversal of status though, Miliucc “followed the devil’s inspiration and committed himself to the flames: having gathered all his valuables and belongings around him in the house where he lived as chieftain, he set everything on fire.”<sup>74</sup> Patrick was horrified and dumbfounded by Miliucc’s act of self-immolation, and as Patrick gazed down from Slíab Mis, the hill where he used to receive angelic visions as a slave, to the man burning below, the saint cursed Miliucc, saying that none of his descendants would sit on a throne as king. The narratives of Dichu and Miliucc are contrasting native responses to Christianity, one symbolizing the acceptance of the new religion and the other utter rejection of a new Christian order in religion or in cultural ideology.<sup>75</sup> The migration of foreign Christians, whether forced as slaves or voluntarily as missionaries, had a profound impact on the religious and cultural identity of the island.

Tírechán framed the episode of Patrick’s return to the place of his enslavement as just another place in the saint’s itinerary. When climbing the mountain Slíab Mis, rather than seeing Miliucc’s funeral pyre, Patrick remembered his time as a slave, in which he had been teaching Miliucc’s three children about Christianity. In Tírechán’s account, Miliucc was a druid and not a king, and Miliucc dreamed that Patrick had filled his children’s mouths with fire, and then they had burned to ashes.<sup>76</sup> Patrick as a slave fomented revolt among his master’s children, enabling them to slough off their pagan parental heritage one day; he robbed his master of his role as father, and instead became their surrogate spiritual father.<sup>77</sup> Tírechán’s aim was to portray Patrick as the spiritual father of all Ireland, and thus his narrative had Patrick journeying all over Ireland, founding monasteries and establishing churches, which in the seventh century were key to establishing the primacy of Patrick’s

episcopal see of Armagh. The new religion brought by Patrick from Britain established connections with foreign places, but it also upended traditional statuses between masters and slaves, lords and clients. It was important for both Muirchú and Tírechán to establish the primacy of Christianity while still acknowledging the rules of early Irish society regarding escaped slaves, no matter their origin.

Slavery was part of the networks of regional exchange in which people traded goods (sometimes other people). Both the traders and the slaves were vectors of communication, bringing new ideas and contacts beyond local communities. Patrick's slavery was not the nightmare that modern minds conjure based on the horrors of the early modern African trade, but rather a form of subjugation that was part of a spectrum of unfreedom in Ireland and the rest of Europe. Being the subject of a mortal man brought Patrick the humility to be a servant of God. The connection he made to the land of his enslavement motivated him to return as a missionary. The connection he made to his master led him first to seek out that man to convert him (and to subvert the master-slave hierarchy). Forced exile and voluntary exile were both forms travel that established a holy man among strangers, at all times subject to God's will as a *servus dei*, connected to new lands and peoples through movement away from his homeland.

Patrick never left the insular world from which he came during his lifetime in the fifth century. However, the seventh-century authors who wrote about native saints were deeply interested in travel as a condition of sanctity. In Patrick's case, the travel was from the world outside of Ireland inwards, bringing the light of Christianity to pagans without destroying native culture. Through the migration of a holy man, Christendom was transformed and expanded, connecting with non-local Christian communities as part of the landscape of holiness in seventh-century Ireland.

### **Manumission and migration**

Unfree people had a social vector that was determined by their movement; this movement was both geographical and real, but also social and cultural. However, unfreedom was not an absolute state; unfree people often changed their social vector by being freed or by stopping their physical movement. Often manumission was a function of their migration to a new place, and there are many examples of slaves who became integral members of their new communities once they had been freed.

The Saxons were a major factor in the seventh-century slave trade, as seen in both the archaeological evidence on Saxon unfreedom and trade in slaves between micro-regions, as well as by the textual evidence from the *Life of Eligius*. Eligius became a key member of King Dagobert of Neustria's royal circle, which also included Bishop Dado of Rouen. Dado, who traveled from Neustria to Rome as a pilgrim, wrote the saint's life soon after the death of his friend and colleague, ca. 660. However, unlike Dado, who came from the

old Gallo-Roman aristocracy, Eligius was an artisan. Though the saint's life pointedly remarks that he was born to "free parents" in an Aquitainian village named Chaptelat six miles from Limoges, he was not an elite.<sup>78</sup> Like most medieval craftsmen, Eligius began as apprentice learning the skill of goldsmithing, which though not slavery, is also a kind of unfreedom. The connections that he made as an artisan and clergyman were shaped by his lower-class upbringing in which he had to struggle against the odds to realize his vocations. Eligius used his talents to access the royal court, make powerful friends, and eventually used these networks to found monasteries and perform the charitable work of redeeming slaves and captives.

The Saxons played a particularly important role in the slave trade. One Saxon, a man named Thille, was mentioned early in the saint's life as a *vernaculus* to Eligius when he was a goldsmith. In this instance, *vernaculus* might be translated as apprentice, but also as domestic servant or slave. It is certainly a variety of unfreedom though, but one that does imply the acquisition of specific skills by the *vernaculus* from his master, and not hereditary chattel slavery. At the king's court, Eligius sponsored men who were also talented, such as the Saxon Thille, to be his goldsmithing apprentices. Thille followed in his master's footsteps and led a venerable life. This probably means that after his career as a goldsmith, he joined one of Eligius' monastic foundations, which were filled with men and women whom he had freed.

The saint's life said that Eligius sold his clothes and possessions and used whatever money was donated to him in order to ransom captives and buy slaves in order to set them free. In sixth-century Gaul, the freeing of captives was both a charitable and authoritative act, bolstering the power of the local bishops.<sup>79</sup> He even set over 100 people free at one time who had come on a ship together. Describing it, Dado asserted that Eligius "freed all alike, Romans, Gauls, Britons and Moors, but particularly Saxons who were as numerous as sheep at that time, expelled from their own land and scattered everywhere."<sup>80</sup> The *Mauri* in this case were not of course Muslims, but rather refugees from Mauretania, a Roman province of North Africa.<sup>81</sup> Like Eligius' companions and *vernaculi*, these men came from across the sea, likely Britain or Ireland. They had been freed thanks to the saint's interference and clearly many of them found support by working for the nobleman who had redeemed them from slavery or captivity.

The *Life of Eligius* gives us a vivid picture of the types of people freed from slavery, but also the ritual and documentation associated with the act. Standing in the presence of the king, the slaves and redeemed captives gave Eligius a golden *denarius* coin; at this point, he would give them charters of liberty. We have charters from Eligius in which he freed captives still surviving.<sup>82</sup> After discussing the variety of ethnicities that Eligius freed, Dado asserted that "often it was pilgrims of Christ [*peregrinos Christi*] that he rescued."<sup>83</sup> He then quickly moved on to the amazing numbers of people, without explaining how they came to be captives. Dado probably did not actually mean pilgrims as in goal-oriented religious travelers, but rather Christians

who happened to be caught up in the wide network of economic exchange that included people as items of exchange.

After Eligius freed these men and women, Dado said that the saint gave them three choices on how they might proceed with their lives. First, they could return to their own country and Eligius offered them a bit of money to start them on their journeys back to their homelands. If they wished to remain in Francia, he would accommodate them willingly and include them in his household not as slaves (*servi*), but as brothers (*fratres*). The text also used the word *vernaculi* here, following the earlier example of the Saxon man, Thille. It is likely that this is the source of the apprentices and subordinate, but not entirely unfree, laborers in Eligius' gold workshop or in his household. Dado described other men by name, saying that Eligius had a staff who helped him with the needs of providing for the welfare of the freed captives, men who had been formerly captives themselves. One was from Eligius' own country of Aquitaine, another man was of the Sueves (from northern Spain), and another who converted from paganism. Eligius:

had several *vernaculos* in his *contubernio* helping him with these needs. One was Bauderic, his countryman, who took care of his things with all honesty. Tituin of the *Suevi* tribe was a faithful lay *cubicularius* who achieved the highest reward when he was later killed. Buchin, converted from the pagans, later lived at the community of Ferrières. Andreas and Martin and John at his procurance deserved to come to the clergy. These and more others than I can count were in his chamber day and night striving to complete the solemn canonical course with all effort."<sup>84</sup>

Eligius' own household was assembled with an array of people from all over Christendom and beyond, creating a community of people with both long-distance ties to the world and ties to one another locally through their shared experiences of exile and travel from their respective homelands.

The third option that Eligius gave the freed captives was to become monks or nuns and move to a religious community. It is with these people that Eligius built and staffed his monastery at Solignac: "Then having constituted an abbot, he freed many of his *vernaculi* to the number of a hundred from different provinces and added fifty monks with enough land to support them abundantly."<sup>85</sup> From the beginning then, Solignac was filled with two classes of people – monks from landed families who brought some of that land with them to support the monastery and people who had recently been freed of particular social or economic obligations in order to become monks.

When Dado described the good works of his friend in the *Life of Eligius*, the foundation of monasteries seems to have trumped the importance of founding travelers lodgings, or *xenodochia*. As Dado wrote:

When [Eligius] had completed that *coenobium* [monastery] with all its works, and stabilized it with care, he thought to build a *xenodochium*

[travelers' lodge] in the city of Paris. But God inspired him to conceive a more excellent plan. He began to raise in his own house, which he had received as a gift from the king in that same city, a domicile of virgins of Christ. After long and sweaty labor, he constructed an *archeterium* [monastery] worthy of holy virgins. There, constituting the strict discipline of the rule, he gathered thirty girls from diverse tribes, some from among his own *ancillae* [slave girls] and other more noble matrons of the Franks. He appointed an abbess fitting to God, a girl named Aurea, daughter of Maurinus and Quiria.<sup>86</sup>

Eligius' *xenodochium* for travelers was never constructed; instead, Eligius chose to create a permanent foundation for holy women, building on land that had been donated to him by the king. However, while the lodging house for pilgrims was not built, the women for whom Eligius decided to create his new foundation were former slaves (*ancillae*), which likely meant they were captives and forced migrants from Saxony, Britain, and other places. However, the community contained women of varied social rank. Eligius' nunnery also had a place for high-status Franks in positions of authority, including his first abbess Aurea, who was likely the daughter of elite Franks.<sup>87</sup> Eligius primarily founded his monasteries to shelter women whom he had freed, as a foundation for foreign-born *ancillae* was a form of Christian hospitality.

Two of the most important female monasteries in early medieval Francia were founded by unfree women who had married into the Merovingian royal houses. The first was Holy Cross Abbey in Poitiers, founded by Radegund (d. 587), who was married to Chlothar I. The second was Chelles Abbey near Paris, founded by Balthild (d. 680), wife of Clovis II. They both became nuns at their own foundations. In the seventh century a surprising number of unfree women married into Merovingian royal families. Besides Radegund and Balthild, these women included Fredegund (d. 597), who married Chilperic I of Neustria and served as queen regent for her son Chlothar II; Bilichild (d. 610), married to Theudebert II of Austrasia; Nanthild (d. 642), married to Dagobert I; and Ragnetrude (ca. 630), who was Dagobert's concubine and mother to one of his children.<sup>88</sup>

Radegund, who used connections to the Mediterranean to seek the relics of the true cross from her monastic foundation at Poitiers, started her life as a Thuringian royal daughter. However, the Frankish king Chlothar I devastated her native land of Thuringia, incorporating it into the Frankish domains. As a royal daughter, Radegund, along with her mother and siblings, migrated from Thuringia and became captives and royal plunder.<sup>89</sup> Radegund was imprisoned at the royal villa at Athies (near Arras, France), and since she was a child, her up upbringing was entrusted to guardians. Her kin, including her future husband Chlothar, ignored her early vocation for the religious life, as she was far too important a marital prize to be allowed to join a convent. Just before her forced marriage, Radegund escaped by night from Athies with a few companions.<sup>90</sup> She was recaptured, and despite her flight, she was

crowned queen at Soissons and lived with Chlothar as his wife for a time. She escaped her marriage by traveling to Noyon to beg bishop Médard to allow her to become a *monacha*, or nun. The bishop hesitated, but her first hagiographer, Venantius Fortunatus, described how she pressured the bishop into it saying, “if you shrink from consecrating me, you fear man more than God, Pastor.”<sup>91</sup> Couched in the language of religious movement and piety, Rade-gund’s travels were a result of political turmoil, first moving because war and captivity and then retreating from a forced marriage.

Once she had escaped her forced marriage and had been consecrated as a nun, Rade-gund renegotiated the terms of her captivity. She stayed within the lands of her former husband, traveling south to visit two different hermits, pausing her journey on to the villa of Saix, in the Loire valley between Tours and Poitiers. Saix was a royal property of her former husband in which she settled temporarily. There, the saint performed ascetic feats and miracles, including healing a traveling woman who came from Francia to Poitiers to the saint’s presence, and curing another woman by the laying of hands.<sup>92</sup> Finally, the former queen moved to Poitiers, founding her monastery within the walls of the city itself and ending the travel that involved her personally. Rade-gund’s own travel was shaped by her status as a captive and unfree daughter of a defeated royal house, dependent on her conquerors and commanded into marriage. Her rebellion against these bonds was couched in religious terms. While she was initially was unsuccessful, as in her aborted escape by night from Athies, she used the church’s hierarchy against the Merovingian royals, becoming a *monacha* and transferring her captivity from marriage to the cloister. Even so, she remained firmly entrenched in her former husband’s sphere, staying at his villa at Saix and founding her monastery on his land at Poitiers.

Unlike the saint’s lives of Rade-gund that focus on the considerable religious achievements of a woman determined to enter the monastic life, the hagiographical accounts of the life of Balthild, widow to Clovis II and queen regent for her son, function as a kind of *apologia* for a turbulent political career, turning a powerful woman at the Frankish court into a “holy house-keeper” ministering to Frankish noblemen and elite cloistered nuns.<sup>93</sup> While Rade-gund was unfree, she was still an elite captive and marital prize; part of the treasure of captured from Thuringia. Balthild on the other hand, represented a different marital trend for Merovingian kings; marriage to low-born and even slave women who owed their entire political lives and fortunes to staying in the good graces of their elite husbands.

Born a slave in England, Balthild was bought by the Neustrian mayor of the palace, Erchinoald, who himself had strong ties to Anglo-Saxon England. Her hagiographer said that when she came from across the sea, she was sold at a cheap price (*vili pretio*).<sup>94</sup> She was said to be a beautiful and graceful Saxon, becoming a serving girl and housekeeper for the elite household, eventually catching the eye of Clovis II. He married her soon after he took power in 648, and Balthild’s fecundity, combined with her connections with

her former master Erchinoald, made her a formidable power in the royal court. However, as her hagiographer exclaimed, Balthild was elevated due to the greatness of God, “who from the low-born makes the elites, who even raises the destitute from the dungpile and has him sit among the leaders of his people.”<sup>95</sup>

She was well acquainted with both Bishop Dado of Rouen and Bishop Eligius of Noyon, both famous for their piety. Dado, Eligius’ elite hagiographer, related a story of the two low-born courtiers raised high, Eligius and Balthild. These two discussed the queen’s vulnerable position before she had produced a male heir.

For when [Balthild’s son] was still in the womb and the queen was greatly afraid that she might have a daughter and the realm succumb because of it, Eligius came to her and reassured her. In the presence of the pregnant woman, he predicted a male birth to all and foretold her son from the mystery of regeneration.<sup>96</sup>

Eligius, as an artisan and goldsmith, put real gold on the line for his heavenly vision, creating a piece of metalwork only suitable for a son for the as yet unborn heir. In addition to eventually having three royal sons, Balthild was an avid supporter of churches, donating alms to the poor and endowing churches. She also founded a new royal monastery for women at Chelles, site of a former royal villa.<sup>97</sup>

Like Eligius, she installed an elite Frank as leader at her foundation at Chelles. Bertilla was the abbess of the new nunnery, but other nuns came from less illustrious backgrounds, like Balthild herself. She was concerned with unfree people, particularly women, as her hagiographer described:

She prohibited the sale of captive Christian people to outsiders and gave orders through all the lands that no one was to sell captive Christians within the borders of the Frankish realm. What is more, she ordered that many captives should be ransomed, paying the price herself. And she installed some of the captives she released and other people in monasteries, particularly as many men and women of her own people as possible and cared for them.<sup>98</sup>

Balthild’s turbulent political fortunes waned after her husband’s death. According to the *Life of Eligius*, she was forced from court; her own saint’s lives gloss over those inconvenient political realities.<sup>99</sup> She retired to her abbey at Chelles, finishing her life with prayer, and devotion to her fellow nuns (whether they were elites or low-born), urging her community to care for the poor and for guests as its highest calling.<sup>100</sup>

Unfree religious travelers often lacked agency in determining when and how they moved or migrated across geographical and social distances. Despite lacking the same choices as free or elite travelers, the changes in



geographical location for unfree people had many of the same effects on the perceived power and holiness of these figures. The charisma of distant places, and the personal authority and holiness that accompanied early medieval travel, was a powerful idea, no matter the political or economic status of the religious traveler.

## Notes

- 1 Thomas Nail, *The Figure of the Migrant* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015), 14.
- 2 Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 6.
- 3 Kyle Harper has identified the seventh century a turning point in this transformation. As he put it, “there is a crucial but elusive divide in the history of slavery somewhere in the dark depths of the seventh century.” Kyle Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World, AD 275–425* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 502.
- 4 Harper, 509. See also, Thomas J. MacMaster, “The Transformative Impact of the Slave Trade on the Roman World, 580–720.” (Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2015).
- 5 Alice Rio, *Slavery After Rome, 500–1100* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 10. Rio summarizes the problems with previous approaches to understanding early medieval slavery this way: “either their inflexibility (if considering the issue in economic terms, by starting with a particular kind of economic organization and/or quantitative impact in mind; if in social ones, with a pre-determined type of experience of exploitation; if in political ones, a particular structure of society and state power), or (if in juridical terms) a perhaps excessively static and elitist representation of ‘culture’, not open enough to the possibility of cultural clashes or conflict between different contemporary perspectives.”
- 6 The theological question of the “Pauline duality” on the concept of slavery is ably discussed by Jennifer A. Glancy, *Slavery in Early Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Orlando Patterson, “The Ancient and Medieval Origins of Modern Freedom.” In *The Problem of Evil*, ed. John Stouffer and Steven Mintz (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006), 31–66; John Kitchen, “‘Raised from the Dung’: Hagiography, Liberation, and the Social Subversiveness of Early Medieval Christianity.” In *Rhetoric and Reality in Early Christianities*, ed. Willi Braun (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006), 121–59.
- 7 Rio, *Slavery after Rome*, 224.
- 8 Youval Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery and the Mediterranean World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 18.
- 9 David R. Wyatt, *Slaves and Warriors in Medieval Britain and Ireland: 800–1200* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 37; T.M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 68–71.
- 10 Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982).
- 11 Jonathan Edmondson, “Slavery and the Roman Family.” In *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, ed. Keith Bradley and Paul Cartledge, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 338.
- 12 Michael McCormick, *The Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, c.700–c.900*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001),

- 733–59; Michael McCormick, “New Light on the ‘Dark Ages’: How the Slave Trade Fuelled the Carolingian Economy.” *Past & Present* 177, no. 1 (2002), 17–54.
- 13 Gregory of Tours, *Virtutes Sancti Martini*, ed. Giselle de Nie (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), Book 2, § 58, 654–55. “Quod talis esset artifex, calumniari coepit, dicens: ‘Refuga es tu dominorum, nec tibi licebit ultra per diversa vagari.’ Et vinctum in domum suam custodiendum dirigit.”
  - 14 Janel M. Fontaine, “Early Medieval Slave-Trading in the Archaeological Record: Comparative Methodologies.” *Early Medieval Europe* 25, no. 4 (2017): 472.
  - 15 B.G. Scott, “Iron ‘Slave-Collars’ from Lagore Crannog, Co. Meath,” *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature 78 (1978): 213–30.
  - 16 Joachim Henning, “Strong Rulers – Weak Economy? Rome, the Carolingians, and the Archaeology of Slavery in the First Millennium AD.” In *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Early Medieval Studies*, ed. Jennifer R. Davis and Michael McCormick (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), 33–54.
  - 17 Marek Jankowiak, “Dirhems for Slaves: Dirham Hoards from Northern Europe, Trade in Slavic Slaves, and the Emergence of Medieval Europe (800–1000) Project.” Accessed December 30, 2018, <http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/dirhamsforslaves/index.php/en>. Fontaine, “Early Medieval Slave-Trading in the Archaeological Record,” 482.
  - 18 Anders Winroth, *The Conversion of Scandinavia: Vikings, Merchants, and Missionaries in the Remaking of Northern Europe* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012), 103.
  - 19 Rimbart, “Vita Anskarii,” MGH SRG 55, ed. Waitz (Hanover 1887), § 11, 32. “Multi etiam apud eos captivi habebantur christiani, qui gaudebant iam tandem se mysteriis divinis posse participari.”
  - 20 T. Douglas Price et al., “Isotopes and Human Burials at Viking Age Birka and the Mälaren Region, East Central Sweden.” *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 49 (2018): 19–38.
  - 21 Nancy L. Wicker, “Christianization, Female Infanticide, and the Abundance of Female Burials at Viking Age Birka in Sweden.” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 21, no. 2 (2012): 245–62.
  - 22 Fontaine, “Early Medieval Slave-Trading in the Archaeological Record,” 488.
  - 23 Bruno Krusch, ed., “Vita Richarii Primigenia,” MGH SRM 7 (Hanover, 1888), § 7, 448. “Nullum, de quo sua fuit potestas, in servitio reliquit.” Alcuin, “Vita Richarii,” MGH SRM 4 (Hanover, 1902), § 8, 393.
  - 24 McCormick, *The Origins of the European Economy*, 672; Deug-Su I, *L’Opera agiografica di Alcuino* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi Sull’alto Medioevo, 1983), 149–52.
  - 25 Alcuin, “Vita Richarii,” § 8, 393. “Sic bonus dominicae pecuniae negotiator duo duplicae caritatis Dei et proximi talenta multiplicare studuit quatenus cum multiplici laboris sui fructu Domino suo obviare possit et vocem audire iocundissimam.”
  - 26 Alcuin, § 4, 391.
  - 27 Farzaneh Moinian, “‘I’m Just Me!’: Children Talking beyond Ethnic and Religious Identities.” *Childhood* 16, no. 1 (2009): 41–43; Scott M. Myers, “Childhood Migration and Social Integration in Adulthood.” *Journal of Marriage and Family* 61, no. 3 (1999): 776–77.
  - 28 Alcuin, “Vita Willibrordi,” MGH SRM 7, ed. Levison (Berlin, 1920), § 9, 124. “Qui dum obduratam moribus et idolatriae deditam et nullam melioris vitae spem habentem offendit, acceptis tunc triginta eiusdem patriae pueris, ad electos a Deo populos regni Francorum revertere festinavit. Sed in eo ipso itinere

catecizatos eosdem pueros vitae fonte abluit, ne aliquod propter pericula longissimi navigii vel ex insidiis ferocissimorum terrae illius habitatorum damnum pateretur in illis, volens antiqui hostis praevenire astutias et Domini sacramentis animas munire adquisitas.”

- 29 George Long, “Damnum.” In *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (London: John Murray, 1875), [http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/secondary/SMIGRA\\*/Damnum.html#Damnum\\_Injuria\\_Datum](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/secondary/SMIGRA*/Damnum.html#Damnum_Injuria_Datum).
- 30 Dawn M. Hadley and Katie A. Hemer, “Microcosms of Migration: Children and Early Medieval Population Movement.” *Childhood in the Past* 4, no. 1 (2011): 66.
- 31 Mayke de Jong, *In Samuel's Image: Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West* (Leiden: Brill, 1996).
- 32 Bruno Krusch, ed., “Vita Amandi.” MGH SRM 5. (Hanover, 1910), § 13, 438. “...atque captivos innumeros redimens, sacro baptismo emundabat, et ut in operibus bonis persisterent, fideliter ortabatur.”
- 33 Krusch, § 9, 435. “Si quos etiam captivos vel pueros transmarinus invenisset, dato pretio redimebat, spiritalique eos regenerans lavacro, litteris affatim imbui praecipiebat, praemissaque libertate, per diversas relinquebat ecclesias, pluresque ex his postea episcopos vel presbiteros seu honorificos abbates fuisse audivimus.”
- 34 Krusch, § 22, 445. “In quo cum fratribus, qui cum eo per diversis provinciis multas pro nomine Christi perpassi fuerant passionibus, aedificabat coenubium, atque ex eisdem fratribus plures postea abbates vel honorificos vidimus viros.”
- 35 Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World*, 503–04.
- 36 Gregory of Tours, *Virtutes Sancti Martini*, Book 2, § 4, 542–45.
- 37 Gregory of Tours, *Vita Patrum*, ed. Giselle de Nie (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), Book § 5, 58–67.
- 38 Alice Rio, “Freedom and Unfreedom in Early Medieval Francia: The Evidence of the Legal Formulae.” *Past & Present*, no. 193 (2006): 7–40.
- 39 Gregory the Great clearly stated that the unfree could not join monasteries without their masters’ permission. Gregory the Great, *Gregorii I Papae Registrum Episcolarum, L. I–VII*, ed. P. Ewald and L.M. Hartmann, MGH Epp. I (Berlin, 1891), Book 5, 57a, 365. On prohibitions against slaves entering monastic and clerical life, see František Graus, “Die Gewalt bei den Anfängen des Feudalismus und die ‘Gefangenenerbefreiungen’ Der Merowingischen Hagiographie.” *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 1 (1960): 90.
- 40 Gregory of Tours, *Vita Patrum*, § 5, 58–59. “Nam saepius de servis liberos, de liberis efficit gloriosos, iuxta illud Psalmographi dictum: ‘Suscitans a terra inopem, et de stercore erigens pauperem...’
- 41 Gregory of Tours, § 5, 58–60. “Sic nunc de beato Portiano abbate, quem non modo de onere mundani servitii eruit, verum etiam magnis virtutibus sublimavit atque post mundum et pressuras saeculi in requie aeterna constituit, locavitque eum inter angelorum choros, de quibus expulsus est dominus ille terrenus.”
- 42 Gregory of Tours. “Decem Libri Historiarum.” Ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison. MGH SRM 1, Part 1. (Hanover, 1884), III.15, 112–16.
- 43 Gregory of Tours, III.15, 116. “Leonem autem a iugo servitutis absolvens cum omni generatione sua, dedit ei terram propriam, in qua cum uxore ac liberis liber vixit omnibus diebus vitae suae.”
- 44 Wilhelm Levison, ed., “Vita Bertuini,” MGH SRM 7 (Hanover, 1920), § 4, 179. “Nihil secum retinuit nisi tantum libros canonicos et reliquias sanctorum, et pueros, qui in eius aderant obsequium.”
- 45 Wilhelm Levison, ed., “Vita Landiberti Vetustissima,” MGH SRM 6 (Hanover, 1913), § 5, 358. “...nec amplius in obsequium eius remanserunt quam duo pueri.”
- 46 A new prosopographical database includes unfree statuses as part of the characteristics. See Alice Rio, “The Making of Charlemagne’s Europe,” 2014, <http://charlemagneurope.ac.uk>.

- 47 Rio, *Slavery after Rome*, 158.
- 48 Wandalbert of Prüm, "Miracula Sancti Goaris." MGH SS 15.1, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger (Hanover, 1887), § 28, 370.
- 49 McCormick, *The Origins of the European Economy*, 654–55.
- 50 Wandalbert of Prüm, "Miracula Sancti Goaris," § 24, 369. "De negotiatore nomine Badoardo propter caesum servum mortuo. Negotiator quidam Badoart dictus cum Rhenum navi ascenderet, unus servorum, qui illum forte offenderat, supplicium metuens, de navi prosiliit et concitus ad ecclesiam fugit. Tum ille fugitivum secutus, ab ecclesia trahere coepit, prohibente fieri et nomine beati Goaris rogante simul et comminante monacho Herirado, qui praesens forte residebat, quo haec ipsa referente cognovi. Sed negotiator furore succensus, cum monachum rogantem aequae minantemque contemneret, pro foribus ecclesiae ad contemptus augmentum tractum ab altari servum cecidit. Nec multum spatii intercessit, et ut cuius arbitrio paruisset quemve contempsisset agnosceret, inundo spiritui traditus, brevi vitam nimiis cruciatibus extortam finivit."
- 51 *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum (ThesCRA)*, vol. 1: processions, sacrifices, libations, fumigations, dedications (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2004), 231.
- 52 Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV.23, 404–05. "Vt ergo conualuit, uendidit eum Lundoniam Freso cuidam; sed nec ab illo nec cum illuc duceretur ullatinus potuit alligari."
- 53 Bruno Krusch, ed., "Vita Viviani." MGH SRM 3 (Hanover, 1896), § 4, 96. There has been some controversy on how to translate *iniunctio*; in an article, Ferdinand Lot speculated that the word implied taxation. Ferdinand Lot, "La Vita Viviani et La Domination Visigothique En Aquitaine." In *Mélanges Paul Fournier* (Aalen: Scientia, 1982), 467–77. Walter Goffart disagreed with this translation, saying that *iniunctio* does not carry the technical sense of taxation, merely an order or injunction. Given that the rest of the passage involves stealing, not taxing, land and wealth, as well as selling people into slavery, I have chosen Goffart's interpretation. Walter A. Goffart, *Barbarians and Romans, A.D. 418–584: The Techniques of Accommodation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980), 96–97.
- 54 Krusch, "Vita Viviani," 97.
- 55 Alice Rio, "Penal Enslavement in the Early Middle Ages." In *Global Convict Labour*, ed. Giuseppe de Vito and Alex Lichtenstein (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 79–107; František Graus, "Die Gewalt bei den Anfängen des Feudalismus und die 'Gefangenenbefreiungen' der Merowingischen Hagiographie," *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 1 (1960): 61–156.
- 56 Oswald Holder-Egger, ed., "Vita Findani." MGH SS 15.1 (Hanover, 1887), 502–06; Reidar Christiansen, trans., "Life of St. Findan," CELT: The Corpus of Electronic Texts, accessed December 28, 2018, <https://celt.ucc.ie/published/T201041>.
- 57 Holder-Egger, "Vita Findani," 503–04. "Inito consilio, Findano preparavere convivia in locis mari contiguus; ad eius consiliati sunt, artissimus vinculis conligavere et secum partier abduxere. Iuxta morem ergo suum dominus eius Nordmannus, quia necdum ad patriam suam redire cupiebat, alii illum vendidit, et mox ille tertio, atque ipse quarto. Qui, sociis collectis, patriam revisere desiderans, hunc secum cum aliis in captivitatem duxit." Christiansen, "Life of St. Findan."
- 58 Muirchú's account was written between 661 and 700. Tírechán has a *terminus ante quem non* of 664–68. Ludwig Bieler, ed., *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1979), 42.
- 59 Bieler, 16–17.

- 60 Charles Doherty, "The Cult of Saint Patrick and the Politics of Armagh in the Seventh Century." In *Ireland and Northern France, A.D.600–850*, ed. Jean-Michel Picard (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1991), 53–94.
- 61 Muirchú, "Vita Patricii (Pauca de Sancti Patricii Peritia et Virtutibus)." In *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, ed. Ludwig Bieler (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1979), § I 1.2. "Hanc barbarorum insulam."
- 62 Roy Flechner, "Patrick's Reasons for Leaving Britain." In *Tome: Studies in Medieval Celtic History and Law in Honour of Thomas Charles-Edwards*, ed. Fiona Louise Edmonds and Paul Russell (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), 125–34.
- 63 A description of the early Irish law of persons is found in Fergus Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1988). Clientship at 29–36, slavery at 95–98.
- 64 Muirchú, "Vita Patricii," § I, 1.3. "Nam usque ad id temporis ignorabat Deum verum, sed tunc spiritus feruebat in eo."
- 65 Patrick, "Confessio." In *Libri Epistolarum Sancti Patricii Episcopi: Introduction, Text and Commentary*, ed. Ludwig Bieler, Ancillary Publications 4, Clavis Patricii II (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy of Medieval Latin from Celtic Sources, 1993), §1, 56–57. "Et Dominus induxit super nos iram animationis suae et dispersit nos in gentibus multis etiam usque ad ultimum terrae, ubi nunc paruitas mea esse uidetur inter alienigenas."
- 66 Muirchú, "Vita Patricii," § I, 1.5. "Cum ignotis barbaris gentilibusque hominibus multos et falsos deos adorantibus iam in navi sibi parata...ad Britanias navigavit."
- 67 Muirchú, § I, 2.1–2.
- 68 Tírechán, "Collectanea de Sancto Patricio." In *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, ed. Ludwig Bieler (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1979), § I 1.6. "Septem aliis annis ambulavit et navigavit in fluctibus et in campistris locis et in conuallibus montanis per Gallias atque Italiam totam atque in insolis quae sunt in mari Terreno, ut ipse dixit in commemoratione laborum. Erat autem in una ex insolis, quae dicitur Aralanensis, annis triginta mihi testante Ultano episcopo."
- 69 Numerous monks went to Lérins for pilgrimage, education, and training in the fifth and sixth centuries according to their vitae. Albrecht Diem, "The Rule of an 'Iro-Egyptian' Monk in Gaul Jonas' Vita Iohannis and the Construction of a Monastic Identity." *Revue Mabillon* 19 (2008): 21 n. 98.
- 70 Muirchú, "Vita Patricii," § I 6.1.
- 71 Charles Thomas has speculated that the Continental wandering portion of these texts are interpolations of material from the life of Palladius, himself a fourth-century Gallic missionary to Ireland. Charles Thomas, "Palladius and Patrick." In *The Island of St. Patrick: Church and Ruling Dynasties in Fingal and Meath, 400–1148*, ed. Ailbhe MacShamhráin (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), 13–37; Westley Lee Follett, "Holy Men from the Sea: Origins of Monastic Life in Ireland." American Society of Irish Medieval Studies (ASIMS) Conference Presentation, Murroe, Ireland, 2017.
- 72 Muirchú, "Vita Patricii," § I 11.2. "Portansque ei geminum servitutis praetium, terrenum utique et caeleste." Kim McCone sees the desire to settle with Miliucc as a reflection of seventh-century ecclesiastical discomfort with the idea of slaves running away. Kim McCone, "An Introduction to Early Irish Saints' Lives." *The Maynooth Review / Revieú Mhá Nuad* 11(1984): 58–59.
- 73 Muirchú, "Vita Patricii," § I 11.6. "Sed videns faciem sancti Patricii convertit Dominus ad bonum cogitationes eius, et praedicavit Patricius fidem illi et ibi credidit Patricio prae omnibus."
- 74 Muirchú, § I 12.1. "Audiens autem Miliucc servum suum iturum ad vissitandum eum, ut morem quem nolebat in fine vitae faceret quasi per vim, ne servo subiectus fieret et ille sibi dominaret instinctu diabuli sponte se igni tradidit et in

domu in qua prius habitaverat rex congregato ad se omni instrumento substantiae suae incensus est.”

- 75 Joseph Falaky Nagy, *Conversing with Angels and Ancients: Literary Myths of Medieval Ireland* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), 51.
- 76 Tírechán, “Collectanea de Sancto Patricio,” § 49.1–2.
- 77 Nagy, *Conversing with Angels and Ancients*, 58.
- 78 Dado of Rouen, “Vita Eligii,” MGH SRM 4, ed. Krusch (Hanover, 1902), § I.1, 670.
- 79 William Klingshirn, “Charity and Power: Caesarius of Arles and the Ransoming of Captives in Sub-Roman Gaul.” *The Journal of Roman Studies* 75 (1985): 183–203. For a comparative religious and cultural perspective on the issue, see Yvonne Friedman, “Charity Begins at Home? Ransoming Captives in Jewish, Christian and Muslim Tradition.” *Studia Hebraica* 6 (2006): 55–67.
- 80 Dado of Rouen, “Vita Eligii,” § I.10, 677. “Pariter liberabat, Romanorum scilicet, Gallorum atque Brittanorum necnon et Maurorum, sed praecipuae ex genere Saxonorum, qui abunde eo tempore veluti greges a sedibus propriis evulsi in diversa distrahebantur.”
- 81 The same term *Mauri* was later applied by Western Christians to the Muslim conquerors of North Africa. The death of the prophet Muhammad, however, occurred in 632 and the expansion of Muslim military and political power beyond the Arabian Peninsula had not yet taken place.
- 82 Bruno Krusch cites several extant charters signed by Eligius. Dado of Rouen, “Vita Eligii,” 640.
- 83 Dado of Rouen, “Vita Eligii,” § I.10, 677. “Id etiam et in peregrinos Christi saepissime faciebat.”
- 84 Dado of Rouen, § I.10, 678. “Habebat praeterea secum plures vernaculos in suo contubernio degentes sibi necessario iugiter obtemperantes. Ex quibus erat Baudericus eiusdem liber cumprovincialis, qui in omnibus honestae valde eius curam gerebat. Erat etiam Tituius genere Suevus fidelis cubicularius laicus, qui postea ad mercedis cumulum pervenit interemptus, necnon et Buchinus ex gentili conversus, qui et ipse postea venerabilis extitit ac Ferrariensi coenobio praefuit; Andreas quoque et Martinus atque Iohannis qui, eo etiam procurante, ad clericatum pervenire meruerunt, sed et alii quam plures, quo enumerare perlongum est, qui die noctuae in eius camaram cum omni studio sollempniter canonicum adimplere studebant cursum.”
- 85 Dado of Rouen, § I.15, 681. “Quo in loco primum ac potissimum virorum Dei construxit monasterium, abbate constituto, multos ex suis vernaculis mancipavit, plures quoque ex diversis provinciis usque ad centenarium, quem quinquagenarius supergreditur numerus, monachos congregavit, reditus etiam terrae, qui affluenter sufficere possint, delegavit.” Solignac itself is described in the next chapter, I.16.
- 86 Dado of Rouen, § I.17, 682–83. “Istum igitur coenobium in omni opere perfectum omnique ex parte cum sollertia stabilitum, cogitabat Parisius in urbe fabricare exinodochium; sed excellentiore consilio, Deo inspirante, concepto, coepit in domum suam, quam in eadem urbe ex munere regis perceperat, virginum Christi aedificare domicilium. In quo opere diu multumque instantissime desudans, dignum tandem sanctarum virginum construxit archeterium, ubi districtam regulae constituens disciplinam, usque ad trecentarum numero puellarum ex diversis gentibus, tam ex ancillis suis, quam ex nobilibus Franciae matronis congregavit. Quibus et abbatissam dignam Deo puellam nomine Aureane, filiam scilicet Maurini et Quiriae constituit, terrae etiam reditus copiosos delegavit atque ex integro omne suum illic studium convertit.”
- 87 The monastery founded by Eligius and its abbess Aurea are also mentioned by Jonas of Bobbio, “Vita Columbani.” Ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRG 37.

- (Hanover, 1905), II.10. Eligius's plan of grouping *ancillae* into monastic communities may afford an early glimpse of the women who emerge in eighth-century sources as canonesses. Such women were systematically monasticized under the Rule of Aachen in 816. Thomas Head, *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology* (London: Routledge, 2001), 165–66 n.17.
- 88 Janet L. Nelson, "Queens as Jezebels: The Careers of Brunhild and Balthild in Merovingian History." *Studies in Church History Subsidia* 1 (1978): 31–77; E.T. Dailey, *Queens, Consorts, Concubines: Gregory of Tours and Women of the Merovingian Elite* (Leiden: Brill, 2015); Matthew Delvaux, "The Slave Queens of Merovingian France." *Text and Trowel* (blog), September 21, 2016, <https://textandtrowel.wordpress.com/2016/09/21/the-slave-queens-of-merovingian-france>.
  - 89 Venantius Fortunatus, "Vita Radegundis." Ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM 2. (Hanover, 1888), § 2, 365. "Tunc inter ipsos victores, cuius esset in praeda regalis puella, fit contentio de captiva..." For more on medieval elite women as captives and treasure, see Pauline Stafford, "Queens and Treasure in the Early Middle Ages." In *Treasure in the Medieval West*, ed. Elizabeth M. Tyler (York: York Medieval Press, 2000), 64.
  - 90 Venantius Fortunatus, "Vita Radegundis," § 2, 366. "Quam cum, praeparatis expensis, Victoriacum voluisset rex praedictus accipere, per Beralcham Adteias nocte cum paucis elapsa est." The phrase "per Beralcham" (which I have omitted above) is unclear. René Aigrain catalogs scholarly attempts to associate Beraicha with Biaches on the Somme, not far from Soissons. Aigrain, *Sainte Radegonde (vers 520–587)*, 29 n. 27. According to Jo Ann McNamara, other scholars have interpreted it as a misreading of "per barcham" – "by boat". In either case, the author is attempting to give us concrete geographical information about the nature or place of Radegund's travel. Jo Ann McNamara, John E. Halborg, and E. Gordon Whatley, eds., *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1992), 72.
  - 91 Venantius Fortunatus, "Vita Radegundis," § 12, 368. "Si me consecrare distuleris et plus hominem quam Deum timueris, de manu tua, pastor, ovis anima requiratur." Trans. McNamara, et al., *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, 75.
  - 92 Venantius Fortunatus, "Vita Radegundis," § 27–28, 373.
  - 93 Lynda L. Coon, *Sacred Fictions: Holy Women and Hagiography in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 138–42, esp. 141.
  - 94 Bruno Krusch, ed., "Vita Balthildis." MGH SRM 2 (Hanover, 1888), § 2, 483. "Quam de partibus transmarinis divina providentia advocans, et vili pretio venundata, huc advenit ipsa pretiosa et optima Dei margarita."
  - 95 Krusch, § 2, 483. "Qui de parvis efficit magnos, immo qui de stercore elevat pauperem et eum consedere facit cum principibus populi sui."
  - 96 Dado of Rouen, "Vita Eligii," II.32, 717. "Nam cum adhuc in utero esset inditus et regina magnopere ob id pavitaret, verens, ne filiam ederet et ob hoc regnum succumberet, veniens ad eam Eligius alacriter eam recreavit, atque coram omnibus puerperam vocitans, partum eius masculum praenuntiavit suumque filium ex mysterio regenerationis fore praedixit."
  - 97 David Coxall, *Chelles: site de l'ancienne abbaye royale* (Chelles: Ville de Chelles, 1994), 13. Merovingian archaeology in France has concentrated on the excavations of cemeteries more than on monastic sites, see Edward James, "Archaeology and the Merovingian Monastery." In *Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism*, ed. Mary Brennan and H.B. Clarke (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1981), 33.
  - 98 Krusch, "Vita Balthildis," § 9, 494. "Quod captivos homines christianos ire prohibuit, datasque praeceptiones per singulas regiones, ut nullus in regno Francorum captivum hominem christianum penitus transmitteret. Sed magis et ipsa,

dato pretio, captivos plurimos redimere precepit et liberos relaxavit et alios ex ipsis in monasteria intromisit et precipue de gente sua viros et puellas quam plures denutritas suas.” McNamara, Halborg, and Whatley, *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, 273.

99 Dado of Rouen, “Vita Eligii,” II.32, 717; Krusch, “Vita Balthildis,” § 10, 495.

100 Krusch, “Vita Balthildis,” § 12, 498. “...et precipue pauperum curam et ospitum...”



# Epilogue

Saint Amandus' monastery at Elnone (modern St-Amand-les-Eaux, Belgium) was a foundation filled with his fellow travelers and wanderers. The hagiographer Baudemundus said that the monks of Elnone were the saint's "brethren who had suffered many things with him in different regions for the name of Christ. Many of these brethren we have seen later become abbots or leading men."<sup>1</sup> For Amandus, it was also his most important work, as evidenced by the will he left behind, witnessed by his fellow bishops at Reims, Noyon, and Cambrai, in addition to several abbots, including Bertin, abbot of Sithiu (later the Abbey of St. Bertin), and his hagiographer Baudemundus.<sup>2</sup> In this will, Amandus explicitly did not leave his possessions or wealth to any specific entity, but his own body. Amandus knew the potential power of his own relics after his death because of his fame for holiness; he said of himself "no one is ignorant how I have traveled far and wide through all provinces and nations for the love of Christ."<sup>3</sup> Because of this peripatetic lifestyle, Amandus specifically ordered that he be buried at Elnone. If he died any place else, the brethren and abbot of the monastery were required to bring his body back to his own foundation. He even cursed those people who might wish to take his relics out of the monastery by force. Finally, the text affirmed the authority of such action by saying that Amandus himself drew up the testament and asked his fellow monk and hagiographer, Baudemundus to rewrite it. It is unlikely that Amandus actually drew up the testament himself; it is far more probable that it was a posthumous creation of Baudemundus to justify the placement and status of the saint's relics at his foundation.

However, the testament claims that Amandus, while still alive, attempted to mediate and control the connections which would be made through his own corporeal relics after his death. By giving the authority to Elnone for his relics, he tried to make his own foundation's claim on his relics inviolate, to force all future connection with him to be mediated by the monks there. Amandus' will depicted the keeping of the saint's relics at Elnone as a self-conscious act of an individual holy man trying control both his own hagiographical memory and the connection between heaven and earth that his corporeal relics represented to the faithful. By having his foundation control his relics, the monks would also regulate the travel and connectivity that the

holy man had engaged in during his life, the physical travel that gave the holy man some of his imagined spiritual power. By regulating access to Elnone and the saint's relics, the charisma of distant places was both maintained as a part of the holy site, but also managed in a single location as a destination for other religious travelers.

While Amandus cursed those who might remove relics by force (*per fortia*), this did not preclude the abbot and monks of his monastery at Elnone from exchanging the relics themselves, a reminder of the geographical and topographical connections between people and places in the early Middle Ages. Relics were part of early medieval networks of exchange, and they traveled extensively carried by pilgrims, messengers, and diplomats, and often distributed as part of the complex networks of gift exchange that marked the early medieval economy. Despite the fact that relics are transferred, gifted, and/or sold, they are in some sense "inalienable objects." That is, while they can be held as possessions by a contemporary place or a person, they do not belong to that person, but rather still belong to the saint him- or herself, a cosmological understanding of a real-world sacred object or sacred place.<sup>4</sup> In the case of Amandus, a relic of this missionary saint of Flanders was located in the monastery of Saint-Maurice d'Agaune (now in Switzerland), which was a monastic waystation on the *Via Francigena*, the medieval pilgrimage route between northern Europe and Rome. The label for the relic is in a Merovingian script, dated to around the year 700, a very short time after the saint's death in 675.<sup>5</sup> The label describes the relic as belonging to "s(an)c(t)o amando mar(tyre)," and indicates local unfamiliarity with Amandus, as he was not a martyr, but rather a confessor and missionary. The relic, very close in time to the lifetime of the saint himself, could have ended up at Saint-Maurice because of the rapidly developing cult activity around his tomb, with a relic being brought by a pilgrim on his way south. However, it is more likely that the distribution of relics was a means of promoting a new saint's cult, and that the circulation and exchange of these relics was actually orchestrated by the monks of Elnone as part of a program of promoting the saint, rather than just being left in the hands of random pilgrims.<sup>6</sup> These networks coincided with a hagiographical narrative that had the saint self-fashioning a sacred place centered around his own relics as sacred objects.

In the early medieval world, people moved in a real landscape and exchanged objects, forming new central places that were centers of trade and exchange. However, to understand the dynamism of the transformation of the Roman world in the early Middle Ages, the idea of trade or exchange must not be reduced to only what we modern people might think of as purely economic transactions. When a community or individual gifted another person or place with a sacred object or "inalienable possession" the object moved and the idea of the sacred object expanded to include new people in the networks of power and exchange, linking distant places together while also forming cosmological links to the saint in heaven. Amandus, as a wandering holy man, understood the importance of creating these inalienable

possessions and keeping control over them. By gifting the community he founded at Elnone with his as-yet still living body, soon to become a relic, the saint himself articulated the importance of gift exchange and commodities exchange at a holy place. The monks of Amandus' community were empowered to use those relics to create a site of sacred power; this power, even when dispersed if the relics moved (as they did when one ended up at Saint-Maurice in Switzerland), remained the possession of the saint and his community.

The afterlife of Amandus' relics in the central Middle Ages (ca. 900–1200) was part of complex systems of political, economic, and religious power.<sup>7</sup> In 1066, Elnone was devastated by a fire, which a new hagiographer, Gislebert, described in a new collection of *miracula* that accompanied the saint's life in an illustrated manuscript of the hagiographical sources about Amandus.<sup>8</sup> Gislebert wrote an account of a relic translation, in which the brethren of Elnone took the saint's relics on a month-long journey in a circuit around the region to raise funds to rebuild. In the verse version of the *miracula*, Gislebert lamented the fire at the monastery that prompted the relic journey, at one point addressing the personification of grief itself:

Grief, have an end! The fire has been quenched with tears.  
 Look! The path of rejoicing is revealed by the merits of Amandus.  
 This protector is exiled, so that you too [grief] might leave these lands as  
     an exile.  
 Go, holy priest, go to see the sick and sorrowful,  
 So that Gaul might be safe and sound, where you will have gone as a  
     guest;  
 Then, spreading the law of heaven through the Gallic countryside  
 Bring back the precious trophy to our wilderness.  
 Run, mortals, to the divine pilgrim!  
 The crowd of Elnone carries a citizen of highest heaven  
 To carry as a messenger the news of heaven to the earth.<sup>9</sup>

This short piece of verse touches on many of the types of religious travel found in this study. Gislebert's portrayal of Amandus' relics hundreds of years after the saint's death mirrored the holy man's status as a religious wanderer in life. To his eleventh-century audience, he was seen as an exile, leaving familiar lands. He was also an itinerant priest and a guest, ministering to the sick who could not come to him. He was a missionary, spreading the Gospel, the "law of heaven" throughout the countryside. Finally, he was a messenger, spreading the news of heaven by performing miracles to those fortunate enough to encounter the physical remains of the saint in the real world. Gislebert did not want his readers to think that Amandus' relics and his community, traveling to solicit funds as they were, were truly powerless and poverty-stricken.<sup>10</sup> Gislebert therefore provided an extensive list of alternative travel tropes that his readers could use to understand the relics' journey.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, by the time of Gislebert's composition in the mid-eleventh century,

monastic travel and mobility were seen as transgressive, as the ideal of stability and isolation from the secular world promoted in the Rule of St. Benedict had fully taken hold, after it had been given the imprimatur of Carolingian authority in the late ninth and tenth centuries.

The early Middle Ages was a period of political and economic change, as well as religious and cultural transformation. In the scholarly conversation on the transformation of the Roman world, travel is key to understanding the intersection of religious and cultural changes with the alterations in trade and economics in the post-Roman world. Since the study of movement previously has been underutilized in understanding these religious and cultural changes, this study has examined how religious travelers fit into this same dynamic milieu of the movement of merchants and trade goods. The changes in travel and religion during the course of the period 500–850 mirrored changes in economics, politics, and society; religious travel was not separate from other kinds of movement, but rather amplified and mirrored by them.

Examining mobility has demonstrated the long-distance connections between people, places, and ideas in the early medieval period. The methodologies of global history, including connectivity between regional units and among groups of people within regions and micro-regions, has shown how important networks of affiliation, from biological and fictive kinship to political, ethnic, and religious ties, were to the movement of ideas and people in the early medieval world. Additionally, the diversity, complexity, and heterogeneity of religious travel have been emphasized, relying on the productive tension between physical geography and material culture, which grounded these travelers in reality, and spatial imagination and religious ideology.

The power of sacred places and holy men is always imagined and culturally constructed. That is not to say that the holiness of people, objects, and places was not real to the authors and audiences of the saints' lives and narrative sources, or the venerators of the relics and objects that came (or were perceived to have come) from distant places. The real-and-imagined points of view of medieval people reveal an early medieval *mentalité* centered on the charisma of distant places, in which travel became a way to traverse not only horizontal geographical distance between regions and people, but vertical celestial distance between humans and the divine.

Medieval people had a complex understanding of spatial reality. Viewing travel through the lens of place and movement has added to our understanding of migration by connecting it to religious and cultural movement. The cumulative weight of the evidence and perspectives has suggested demonstrated a new conclusion of a complex, diverse, multivalent religious travel milieu in the early medieval west.

## Notes

- 1 Bruno Krusch, "Vita Amandi." MGH SRM 5 (Hanover, 1910), § 22, 445. "In quo cum fratribus, qui cum eo per diversis provinciis multas pro nomine Christi

- perpassi fuerant passiones, aedificabat coenubium, atque ex eisdem fratribus plures postea abbates vel honorificos vidimus viros.”
- 2 Bruno Krusch, ed., “Exemplar Petitionis Seu Coniurationis Sancti Amandi de Corpore Suo.” MGH SRM 5 (Hanover, 1910), 484–85.
  - 3 Krusch, 484. “Proinde omnibus non habetur incognitum, qualiter nos longe lateque per universas provincias seu gentes propter amorem Christi seu verbo Dei adnuntiare vel baptismum tradere discursum habuimus...”
  - 4 Frans Theuws, “Exchange, Religion, Identity and Central Places in the Early Middle Ages.” *Archaeological Dialogues* 10, no. 2 (2004), 129.
  - 5 Julia M.H. Smith, “Les Reliques et Leurs Étiquettes.” In *L’abbaye de Saint-Maurice d’Agaune, 515–2015*, ed. Bernard Andenmatten et al. (Gollion: Infolio éditions, 2015), Etiquette 13, 235.
  - 6 Julia M.H. Smith, “One Site, Many More Meanings: The Community of Saint-Maurice d’Agaune and Its Relic Collection.” In *Emotions, Communities, and Difference in Medieval Europe: Essays in Honor of Barbara H. Rosenwein*, ed. Maureen C. Miller and Edward Wheatley (London: Routledge, 2017), 71. Agaune also had relics from even further afield in the British Isles. See Julia M.H. Smith, *Relics and the Insular World, c. 600-c.800*, Kathleen Hughes Memorial Lectures 15 (Cambridge: Hughes Hall & Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic, 2017).
  - 7 Steven Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform as Process: Realities and Representations in Medieval Flanders, 900–1100* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013).
  - 8 Valenciennes BM 502. Digitized: [https://patrimoine-numerique.ville-valenciennes.fr/ark:/29755/B\\_596066101\\_MS\\_0502](https://patrimoine-numerique.ville-valenciennes.fr/ark:/29755/B_596066101_MS_0502). See also Barbara Abou-El-Haj, “Consecration and Investiture in the Life of Saint Amand, Valenciennes, Bibl. Mun. Ms 502.” *The Art Bulletin* 61, no. 3 (1979): 342–58; Kate Melissa Craig, “Bringing Out the Saints: Journeys of Relics in Tenth to Twelfth Century Northern France and Flanders.” (Ph.D. dissertation, UCLA, 2015), 77–79.
  - 9 Gislebert of St-Amand, “Carmen de Incendio.” Ed. George Pertz, MGH SS 11 (Hanover, 1854), Book II, lines 4–10, 418. “Meror, habe finem! Satiasti fletibus ignem, / En! Via letandi meritis aperitur Amandi. / Exulat hic presul, ut eas his finibus exul. / I, sacer antistes, egros i visere tristes; / Gallia sit sospes, qua tu successeris hospes; / Tum caeli iura pandens per Gallica rura / Nostro deserto speciosa trophea referto. / Currite divinum terrestres ad peregrinum! / Grex gerit Helnonis summae civem regionis / Ceu missum terrae caelistia nuntia ferre.”
  - 10 During the thirteenth century, Amandus’ relics had a new reliquary created for them, replacing the earlier reliquary that was lost in the 1066 fire. “Unraveling the Mysteries of the Saint Amandus Reliquary.” *Articles from the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, MD* (blog), April 25, 2013, <https://articles.thewalters.org/video-unraveling-the-mysteries-of-the-saint-amandus-reliquary>.
  - 11 Many thanks to Kate Craig for sharing her in-progress work on the mobility of relics in the central Middle Ages, Kate Craig, *Traveling Bones: Relic Mobility and Conflict in the Central Middle Ages*, forthcoming.

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